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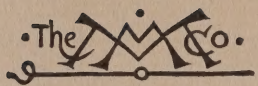

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THE RHETORIC OF ORATORY

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BY

EDWIN DU BOIS SHURTER

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC SPEAKING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

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PREFACE

THIS book is a treatise on oratorical composition. While adapted to the needs of public speakers generally, it is intended primarily as a text-book for school and college students.

That the young men who are being sent forth annually from our schools and colleges should receive some training in the theory and art of public speech would seem to require no argument. We are a nation of speechmakers, notwithstanding the fact that many good people would have it otherwise. It is sometimes claimed that the press in modern times has supplanted the orator, but a moment's observation of actual conditions will show how unfounded is this contention. There never was a time when oratory constituted so potent a factor in the national life as it does to-day. There never was a time when a talent for public speech brought so much political and social influence. The press has not supplanted the orator, and in the very nature of things it never can; for the personal relation of speaker and hearer can never be supplied by the lifeless type. True, the modern magazine and newspaper have brought about certain changes in the standards and requirements of present-day oratory, but the orator's vocation has not only

lost nothing, but has enormously gained thereby. This by reason of the higher standards of requirement. A speaker in these days must have something worth hearing, and he must say it in a sane and rational manner. The day of the phrase-maker and "spellbinder" is passing. But this only means that, with the gradual diffusion of knowledge in printed form, a reading and thinking public will more and more demand true oratory, and that nothing short of it will find ready and intelligent acceptance.

If in public speech matter is nowadays stressed above manner, it becomes more and more necessary that intending speakers should receive instruction as to the requirements of subject-matter and style in oral discourse. In the schools, surely, a student should be taught to compose for a hearer as distinguished from a reader, to write an oration as distinguished from an essay. "Careful, constant writing," Rufus Choate once said, "is the parent of ripe speech. . . . But that writing," he goes on to say, "must always be such as might be uttered to a listening audience. *It is to be composed as in and for the presence of an audience.*" That is to say, oral discourse has a rhetoric of its own which should not be neglected in the work of instruction in English composition. Many schools and colleges, where no separate department of oratory exists, have recognized the distinction by establishing chairs of "rhetoric and oratory." But oral discourse receives scant attention in treatises on rhetoric; the subject of Persuasion

is usually treated in a single chapter, or not at all; and in the schools generally oratorical composition finds little or no part in the work of instruction in English composition.

There is no modern text-book, so far as the author is aware, which covers the same ground as the present volume. The treatment covers all forms of public discourse, but the point of view is that of formal oratory; the assumption always is that one has time to write out in full a set speech for a more or less formal occasion. Of course the formal oration is only one of many kinds of public speeches; indeed, with the average speaker, it may be comparatively rare, but it is only by the systematic study and practice of the rhetoric of oratory that the student can best train himself generally for all kinds of public speaking. Such foundation work in written composition is absolutely essential to appreciate and cultivate the oratorical style and to guard against the prolix and discursive tendencies of extempore speech.

The science and art of oratory was so comprehensively and exhaustively treated by the ancient Greek and Roman rhetoricians that, as John Quincy Adams said in his address accepting the professorship of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard, "to select, combine, and apply their precepts is the only duty left for their followers of all succeeding times, and to obtain a perfect familiarity with their instruction is to arrive at a mastery of the art." A new treatise on oratory, therefore, can be little more than the

modernizing of old material — the modern application of principles elaborately wrought out by such writers as Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. The author would not underrate his indebtedness to some of the modern treatises (cited in the text), but for the most part the present treatise simply aims to adapt ancient precepts to present-day conditions, supplementing theory with suggestive exercises and considerable illustrative matter.

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Will T. Hale, instructor in English at the University of Texas, for valuable assistance rendered in the reading of the proof.

E. D. S.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

WHAT IS ORATORY 1

Rhetoric and Oratory — Oratory and Oral Discourse — Test of Oratory — Definition tested by the History of Oratory — Exercises.

CHAPTER II

KINDS OF ORATORY 15

Deliberative — Forensic — Pulpit — Demonstrative: the eulogy, the commemorative address, the after-dinner speech, the political speech, and the platform oration — Exercises.

CHAPTER III

THE DIVISIONS OF THE ORATION 55

The Introduction — The Discussion — The Conclusion — Exercises.

CHAPTER IV

STYLE IN ORAL DISCOURSE 93

Style Generally — The Oratorical *vs.* the Essay Style — Qualities of Style relating to Conviction: clearness, sequence, unity, emphasis — Persuasion — Adaptation of Appeal to the Audience — Appeal to the Highest Motives Possible — Indirect Appeals the Most Effective — Distinctive Qualities of Style in Persuasion: concreteness, figurative language, analogy and antithesis, direct discourse, suspense and climax, euphony and cadence, seriousness and dignity, energy, variety, movement, and iteration — Exercises.

CHAPTER V

PAGE

THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR: GENERAL PREPARATION 167

Character — Emotional Responsiveness — Knowledge of Things — Knowledge of Men — Acquiring a Vocabulary — Gathering Speech Material — Practice in Writing — Practice in Speaking — Exercises.

CHAPTER VI

THE WRITING OF AN ORATION 190

Choosing a Subject — Gathering Material — Constructing a Plan, or Outline — The Composition — Exercises.

APPENDIX A. SPECIMEN COLLEGE ORATIONS . . 219

APPENDIX B. SUBJECTS FOR ORATIONS . . . 301

INDEX 307

THE RHETORIC OF ORATORY

THE RHETORIC OF ORATORY

CHAPTER I

WHAT IS ORATORY?

Rhetoric and Oratory. — Rhetoric is the science which treats of discourse. Discourse is any communication of thought by words, either oral or written. Rhetoric originally referred to the oral form only; it treated of discourse which was composed for public speaking. The term "rhetoric," indeed, is derived from the Greek *rhetorike*, the art of speaking. The ancient rhetoricians, such as Aristotle and Cicero and Quintilian, composed their treatises solely from the viewpoint of the needs of the public speaker, and even as late as the early part of the nineteenth century the lectures of Dr. Blair at Edinburgh University, and those of John Quincy Adams at Harvard, covered the fields of both spoken and written discourse.

There were sufficient reasons, of course, why the science and art of expression had its origin in oral discourse: it was practically the only form of discourse known. The orator of ancient Greece and Rome performed the combined functions of the modern orator, book, magazine, and newspaper. But

with the invention of printing and the resulting spread of written discourse, the term "rhetoric" has come to be applied almost exclusively to the science and art of writing.

Oratory and Oral Discourse. — While the term "discourse" ordinarily comprehends the idea of consecutive speech on a given line of thought, yet all oral discourse is by no means oratory. We must therefore seek for some distinguishing traits by which oratory may be differentiated from other forms of oral address.

Turning to the treatises on oratory, we find that their definitions are by no means uniform. Aristotle says that oratory (rhetoric) is "the faculty of finding all the means of persuasion on any subject." Quintilian and John Quincy Adams define it as "the art of speaking well," while Cicero and Dr. Blair agree in calling it "the art of persuasion." But Aristotle's definition, since it relates primarily to a single branch of rhetoric, that of Invention, is to-day obviously inadequate. And to define oratory as "the art of speaking well" is too indefinite, for it lays down no standards as to what is meant by speaking well.

Now, in public address a speaker may have any one of four objects: (1) to entertain, (2) to inform, (3) to convince, and (4) to persuade. The first two of these purposes may be excluded at once, for mere entertainment or the imparting of information, such as dramatic reading or a lecture upon some scientific subject, do not constitute what we instinctively rec-

ognize as oratory. The orator, as distinguished from the public speaker generally, is the champion of some cause or truth to the support of which he aims to win his hearers. Now, this support the orator may gain in two ways: by convincing the understanding that his reasoning is sound, and then by appealing to those emotions related to his subject which will lead his audience to act as he wishes. These two elements, conviction and persuasion, are present in varying degrees in any speech which may be said to constitute oratory. They mutually supplement and support each other. If a person is to be moved to act in a desired way, the basis for an appeal to his emotions must first be laid in an appeal to his understanding. But an address that is confined to a purely intellectual appeal stops short of oratory proper. What, for example, is the difference between an exposition, before a body of engineers, as to the method of constructing the Panama Canal, and an argument in favor of its construction delivered during a political campaign? between a legal argument addressed to an appellate court and one addressed to a jury? In the one case we may say that the speech is relatively technical and cold; it consists almost wholly in a process of pure reasoning. In the other case, while the speaker may — and usually must — enlighten the understanding by adducing facts and reasons for his plea, he goes further, and, by appealing to one or more almost innumerable emotions — self-interest, prejudice, anger, fear, honor,

duty, love, etc., — he seeks to reënforce and make effective his argument by inciting his hearers to *act* upon it. So Webster refers to those times when the real orator appears as occasions when "great interests are at stake and *strong passions* excited." Demosthenes named "action" as the test of true eloquence. And Emerson says: —

> Him we call an artist, who shall play on an assembly of men as a master on the keys of the pianô, — who, seeing the people furious, shall soften and compose them, shall draw them, when he will, to laughter and to tears. Bring him to his audience, and, be they who they may, — coarse or refined, pleased or displeased, sulky or savage, with their opinions in the keeping of a confessor, or with their opinions in their bank safes, — he will have them pleased and humored as he chooses; and they shall carry and execute that which he bids them.[1]

Oratory proper, then, belongs in the realm of the passions. It must please and move, as well as inform and convince; and herein lies the distinction, so far as any hard and fast line of cleavage can be drawn, between oratory and public speaking generally. We may, therefore, accept the standard definition as first given by Cicero, that "Oratory is the art of persuasion," understanding that by persuasion is meant an appeal to the emotions.

The psychology of the emotions, it should be remembered, ordinarily requires that conviction must precede persuasion. A short speech, therefore, does not, as a rule, allow time to attain to real oratory, — unless, as sometimes happens, a preceding speaker

[1] *Society and Solitude*, 58.

or the occasion itself has furnished an opportunity for an almost immediate emotional appeal. Again, the usual lecture is apt to be largely narrative, descriptive, or expository, with little or no persuasion.

We may therefore deduce the following definitions: *Oratory is that branch of public speaking which appeals to the emotions. An oration is a formally prepared and relatively elaborate discourse, wherein persuasion is the ultimate object and effect.*

Test of Oratory. — One or two further comments upon these definitions should be noted. No speech is eloquent in itself, but only as it affects the hearers. Says Macaulay: "A speaker who exhausts the whole philosophy of a question, who displays every grace of style, yet produces no effect on his audience, may be a great essayist, a great statesman, a great master of composition, but he is not an orator. If he miss the mark, it makes no difference whether he have taken aim too high or too low." A given speech might be oratory for one audience and not for another. When accused of unduly exciting the people, William Pitt's reply was, "Eloquence is not in the man, it is in the assembly." And Webster said, "It exists in the man, the subject, and the occasion." George William Curtis stressed the idea of the "man" when he said: "Eloquence is the supreme charm in speech, but where the charm lies is the most delusive of secrets. It is the spell of the magician, but it is not in his wand nor in his words. It is the tone of the picture, it is the rhythm of the

poem. It is neither a statement nor an argument, nor a rhetorical, picturesque, or passionate appeal. It is all these penetrated and glowing with the power of living speech — a magnetism, a fascination, a nameless delight." [1]

This "power of living speech" — the personality of the speaker — must always be reckoned with in estimating the persuasiveness of a given speech. The reader cannot, of course, judge of the speaker's manner, and loses the influence of the play of emotions among the auditors. The importance of the manner of delivery gave rise to Fox's dictum that a good speech never reads well. There may be some truth in this, but the statement is no doubt too sweeping. True, there are some noted orators, such as Burke, whose speeches are more effective as literature than they were when first delivered. On the other hand, there are orators whose speeches produced an amazing effect in the actual delivery, yet furnish extremely dismal reading. Neither of these types, however, when we consider really great orators, are fairly representative. The ideal orator, surely, is he whose speech is so fluent yet so thoughtful, so glowing with passion yet so rational, weighty, and suggestive, that, while it moved the immediate audience by its persuasiveness, it still has an undying charm for the reader. And this is generally the case with the really great orators of both ancient and modern times.

[1] Parke Goodwin, *Commemorative Addresses*, 51.

There is, too, such a difference between the conditions of ancient as compared with modern oratory that we perhaps should say that a speech nowadays not only may, but must, read well. The orators of Greece and Rome addressed audiences that were to act immediately upon the convictions and emotions that were produced. The political debates in Athens were ended by ballot, with the words of the last speaker on the *bema* ringing in the ears of the voters. In actions at law the speaker addressed judges who were to give no reasons for their decision. Neither in the public assemblies nor in the courts did the sense of public responsibility exist as it does to-day. In most instances the speech perished with the occasion. Cicero's orator is to excite his hearers, whether judges or popular assembly, for the occasion. Not so, in general, with the modern orator. His words must usually be sounded and rung and tested before his auditors act upon them. In deliberative bodies a given measure must run the gantlet of a committee's report and of public discussion. The hearer sleeps on the speech. He reads it in the newspaper report. He feels the responsibility for his vote, and must be able to justify it before his constituents. In political discussions, the citizens read both sides. So, too, in courts of law. The juryman hears the non-partisan charge of the judge, and talks the case over with his associates in the seclusion of the jury room. The judge himself must state the reasons for his opinion, which is to be read

by a learned and critical profession. Moreover, very many speeches in these days are addressed to a far larger audience than the immediate hearers. Dr. Talmage, for example, used to preach to an audience of two or three thousand on Sunday morning, and through the Monday morning papers he reached an audience of hundreds of thousands. Epoch-making speeches, such as that of Grady at New York or that of Bryan at Chicago, are delivered one day before a limited number, and the next day are re-delivered by the newspapers all over the country. Most congressional speeches are addressed to the speaker's constituents.

Thus the public discussion of a pending measure, the consultation in the jury room, the reflection in the judge's chamber, the delay of the election to a day long after the speech, and especially the corrective influence of the reporter and editor in reaching a far larger audience than was possible prior to the invention of the printing press — all these instrumentalities are to-day protections against the mischief of mere oratory, which the ancients did not enjoy. And so, while we may still say that oratory is to be tested by its effect on the audience, we should perhaps enlarge our conception of an audience, in modern times, to include the readers of the speech. We must consider not only the immediate, but also the ultimate, effect of the speaker's words. In any event, the modern orator encounters so many guards against the mere excitement of passion that it behooves him, unless

he is to "go up like a rocket and come down like a stick," to look well to basing his emotional appeals on sound reasoning. Otherwise he can have no lasting influence. The modern oration, while not neglecting proper and effective persuasive appeals, must, after all, have thought fiber enough to hold it together and thus enable it to stand the test of criticism and discussion.

Definition tested by the History of Oratory. — If the distinguishing characteristic of oratory consists in appealing to the emotions, we should expect this form of public speaking to flourish under conditions where there is, first, a certain degree of freedom of thought and of speech, and secondly, where men's passions run high over some widespread wrong to be righted, some injustice to be resisted, or some common cause that calls for champions. We should expect oratory and the struggle for liberty, in its various forms, to go hand in hand. And the most cursory review of the history of oratory (which is all that the scope of this treatise will permit) shows this to be true.

When oratory emerges from the traditionary period in the fifth century B.C., we find public speaking highly developed in ancient Greece, and an important factor in politics and law. It had already passed the point of mere entertainment, and was employed in political discussions, and more especially in maintaining one's legal rights. The liberty of the Athenians, which made their public actions dependent upon

their own will, and their will susceptible of influence in the popular assemblies, naturally resulted in the study and practice of the art of public address. But the oldest form of oratory among the Greeks, as Professor Jebb points out in his *Attic Orators*, is its use, not as an art for its own sake, nor yet primarily for political purposes, but to assist individuals in presenting and defending their rights in courts of law. Under the conditions obtaining in Athens, the theory was that every citizen should be his own advocate. But many persons would be drawn into litigation who had not the knowledge and ability to plead their cause. Hence there arose teachers and professional speech writers who brought the art of forensic oratory to a high state of perfection. Public speaking, however, was not confined to the oratory of the bar. The democracy of Athens called forth, in the discussions before the assemblies of citizens, many political orators, one of the most illustrious of whom was Pericles, in the fourth century B.C. But the acme of Grecian eloquence was attained by Demosthenes [385–322 B.C.]. The beginning of his career as an orator, it should be noted, arose from the necessity of legal proceedings on account of the embezzlement of funds by the trustees of his estate. Though he took advantage of the help of lawyers and plea writers, for the most part he pleaded his own case. There followed a period of the study and development of the art of public speech, and later Demosthenes became a political orator and recog-

nized leader of public opinion in his agitation for a pan-Hellenic league to resist the designs of Philip of Macedon; and for thirteen years he resisted with his eloquence the resources and diplomacy of an absolute monarch. Although his country awoke at last to his call, it was too late to avert the calamity of which his *Philippics* had forewarned the Athenians, and Grecian eloquence perished with the death of Grecian liberty.

Roman oratory developed slowly, and it was not until the time of Cicero [106–43 B.C.], its typical representative, that it reached a stage which can be called classic. The conditions of government and society in early Rome account for this slow development. Force was the dominant idea. Unlike the conditions in Athens, men were driven, not led. With the conquest of Greece the influence of Hellenic literature began to be felt, but it was not until the period of the Gracchi, in the second century B.C., that classical Roman oratory began. This was the period of a struggle for a larger degree of liberty for the plebeians as opposed to the aristocracy. And just as there was a decline in Grecian oratory after Demosthenes, so, with the departure of freedom and the reign of the dictator in the age succeeding Cicero, there was a similar falling off in Roman oratory. Its sphere became narrowed to subjects which were safe to discuss and to the servile adulation of those in power.

The next period of oratory occurs in the second

century of the Christian era, with the fathers of the early Church, the champions of a new faith and an unwelcome cause. Then succeeds a long period of comparative silence, broken occasionally by such men as Paulinus of York, the Venerable Bede, and Boniface. Along with the revival of learning in the eleventh century, religious fanaticism is used to incite the masses to engage in the recovery of the holy sepulcher from the Moslem. The leading orator of this period of the crusades is Peter the Hermit. His oratory was of a crude and primitive type, but his appeals started five hundred thousand crusaders toward Palestine before the preacher was ready to conduct them; and later Bernard of Clairvaux preached a crusade which started two great armies toward the Holy Land. The crude and eccentric oratory of the Middle Ages, indeed, was confined almost wholly to the churchmen, and culminated in its two most distinguished representatives, the heralds of the Reformation, Savonarola and Luther.

The next notable oratorical period was that of the French Revolution. Naturally, it was at first a sudden and violent outburst of long-smothered passion. With this period are associated the names of Mirabeau, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. Contemporary with these orators, and in strong contrast to them in many respects, was the rise of a brilliant galaxy of parliamentary orators, such as Pitt, Sheridan, Fox, Mansfield, and Burke, who shaped the

policies of Great Britain during her period of colonial extension and national supremacy.

Turning now to America, we may note three distinct periods of oratory: the colonial, the congressional, or period of development, and the period of the Civil War.

American oratory of the colonial period was almost contemporary with, and was largely influenced by, parliamentary oratory of Great Britain. The times called for orators to espouse the cause of the colonies in their conflict with the mother country, and the speeches of such men as Sam Adams, James Otis, Fisher Ames, and Patrick Henry embody a large part of the history of the times. The shaping of policies for a new nation produced, during the early part of the nineteenth century, a group of deliberative orators in Congress, just as the latter half of the eighteenth century had produced a similar group in the British Parliament. Of these congressional orators the most distinguished are the great "triumvirate," Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster. Following this shaping and developing period came the tremendous agitation which resulted in the Civil War; and such orators as Phillips, Beecher, Lincoln, Seward, Sumner, and Curtis on the one side, and Hill, Breckenridge, Wigfall, Yancey, Benjamin, and Lamar on the other, were no small factors in bringing the issues of the conflict to a final determination.

The periods mentioned in the foregoing sketch might easily be subdivided into many more, but our object has been to take a glimpse of only the mountain heights of oratory. Recurring to our theme, it is the mission of oratory to contribute its quota, through the power of free speech, in the world-old struggle between right and wrong; and times of widespread popular agitation, when men's passions are aroused over some common object and their wills are to be directed toward a given line of action, are periods of oratory.

EXERCISES

1. Assign to individual students reports on the exposition of oratory as given in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Cicero's *Orators and Oratory*, Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, and John Quincy Adams's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory*, respectively.

2. Let each student report on speeches he has heard as to whether they were or were not oratory, and why.

3. Assign to various members of the class, for special study, some one representative orator in each of the oratorical periods, including contemporary orators. Let reports, either oral or written, be made to the class, covering the following topics: (1) A brief sketch of the orator's life. (2) What was his life purpose? With what great cause was he identified, and what contemporary orators were identified with the same cause? (3) His style as an orator, matter and manner. (4) A special study of some one of his orations: the occasion, an analysis of the line of thought, and quotations illustrative of his style.

CHAPTER II

KINDS OF ORATORY

THE broad divisions into which oratory has been classified have been variously named by different writers since the days of Aristotle, yet these divisions (with one exception) are intrinsically the same; they have been based upon the viewpoint of either the audience or the speaker, and usually the former. Thus Aristotle bases his division upon three points of view an audience may have. He says that audiences are judges either of things lying in the future, as are members of deliberative bodies; or of thing lying in the past, as are members of judicial tribunals; or of things of the present, as are critics of the presentation of some topic of the moment. He then deduces this classification: (1) Deliberative, (2) Judicial, and (3) Epidictic oratory (to show forth, or display). Not only do these three divisions of oratory, Aristotle goes on to show, relate to the future, the past, and the present, respectively, but they also have their proper offices: to the deliberative belong exhortation and dissuasion; to the judicial, accusation and defense; to the epidictic, praise or blame. Certain ends or purposes also belong to each: to the

deliberative, the expedient or the inexpedient; to the judicial, the just or the unjust; to the epidictic, the honorable or the dishonorable. The Roman rhetoricians, who have generally been followed by modern writers, substituted for epidictic the term "demonstrative." Since the time of Aristotle the rise of Christianity has added another kind of oratory, that of the pulpit. Bain, in his *Rhetoric*, makes the following four divisions: (1) Oratory of the Law Courts, (2) Political Oratory, (3) Pulpit Oratory, and (4) Moral Suasion. And Genung, in his *Practical Rhetoric*, makes two grand divisions: (1) Determinate, which is subdivided into Parliamentary, Forensic, and Pulpit oratory, and (2) Demonstrative, which is defined as that kind of oratory "which impels toward noble, patriotic, and honorable sentiments and toward a large and noble life."

Whatever classification be adopted, no hard and fast divisions can be named. Pulpit oratory, for example, would belong, in one sense, to what Genung calls demonstrative, and a given speech might be classed as deliberative or demonstrative, depending on the point of view. However, for the purpose of separate consideration, and changing — somewhat arbitrarily — Aristotle's nomenclature, we may classify oratory into the following four divisions: (1) Deliberative, the oratory of the assembly, (2) Forensic, the oratory of the bar, (3) Pulpit, the oratory of the Church, and (4) Demonstrative, the oratory of the special occasion.

DELIBERATIVE ORATORY

While deliberative oratory is usually associated with speeches before legislative assemblies, its scope is not confined to such bodies. Any speech addressed to hearers with the object of inducing them to accept or reject a given policy for the future may be called a deliberative speech. Hence this kind of oratory includes not only congressional and parliamentary speeches, but also addresses before conventions, synods, conferences, and public meetings of various sorts.

It would be an interesting, though perhaps fruitless, inquiry were one to attempt to trace the influence of deliberative oratory upon the world's history. Some writers point to the harangues in the Old Testament and to the stormy councils described by Homer as the first examples of deliberative speech. Its recorded history, however, begins in ancient Greece about 500 B.C. and reached its acme with Pericles and Demosthenes. It had a brilliant record in the Roman Forum. It lighted the fires which burned into the Reformation and the French Revolution. It aided mightily in laying the foundations of English political liberty. And its history is inextricably interwoven with the history of our own country, — the Revolution, the adoption of the Constitution, the period of development that succeeded the Civil War, and the great governmental and social problems of the last half century.

Cicero, while giving to forensic eloquence the place of the greatest difficulty, assigns to the deliberative the place of the highest importance. Its preëminence arises from three causes: the comprehensiveness of its purpose, the subjects with which it deals, and the character of the audiences addressed. The efforts of the forensic orator turn upon questions of fact; his aim is to show what has occurred in the past. The deliberative orator, on the other hand, stands as sponsor for a given measure, the acceptance or rejection of which will result in future events. His themes embrace social and political questions relating to a community, a state, or a nation, — questions which not infrequently affect generations yet unborn. Thus, while forensic oratory is concerned primarily with the rights of individuals, and pulpit oratory with their duties, the deliberative deals with the individual only as one of a larger community; it is exceptional in the breadth of its purpose. Again, the forensic orator is a special pleader; his speech is partisan in its nature, and deals with only one side of a case. The deliberative orator is presumably non-partisan; he stands as an adviser and counselor. Further, the audiences he addresses are usually of a high grade of intelligence, and are deeply interested in the matters under discussion.

These considerations suggest the general structure of a deliberative speech. Its purpose, whether it be the great oration in Parliament or Congress, or a

few remarks on a motion at a public meeting, is intensely practical. The hearers are seeking light to guide them in their action, be it a question of voting money to pave a street or build a bridge, or be it some such occasion as Webster describes, when men's "lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country hang on the decision of the hour." In any case, direct, earnest appeal based on sound reasoning must characterize the orator's method and style. The speaker can best win his audience by pursuing the same line of argument by which he himself became convinced of the merits of his cause, and by presenting it as he would in order to convince and persuade an individual. The conflicting motives that lie more or less dormant in a deliberative assembly — expediency as opposed to principle, fear as opposed to courage, selfish interests as contrasted with the general welfare, friendly motives as against absolute right — present the self-same questions that every man must decide almost every day; and in attempting to make the higher and nobler aspect of any question triumph over the lower, the deliberative orator must combat the same interests and appeal to the same motives that would be employed in a talk between man and man.

While the opportunities for the exercise of deliberative oratory were never so varied and frequent as to-day, it has suffered something of a decline in modern legislatures. The great oration in the English Parliament or in the American Congress is now

an unusual episode. The modern newspaper has, to a certain extent, taken the former place of the orator in supplying necessary information regarding a subject under discussion. And, too, a suspicion cast upon the use of mere oratory may have had some influence: Thomas B. Reed is reported to have thanked heaven that the House of Representatives was not a deliberative body. Most influential in bringing about this change, however, is the change in legislative bodies themselves. They have grown so large that much of the discussion of a pending measure, which used to be heard before the assembly as a whole, is now relegated to the committee room. Further, some influence may be attributed to the character of the questions dealt with at present. These are, as a rule, no longer the larger problems of national policy, but details of administration, the currency, tariff schedules, river and harbor appropriations, — questions that obviously do not lend themselves to emotional speaking. When a great theme is presented, however, real oratory by great orators has not been lacking to suggest the "palmy days" of Burke and Fox and Pitt, of Webster and Clay and Calhoun; as witness the great speech of Gladstone on his Irish Home Rule bill, or the Beveridge-Hoar debate on the Philippine question. But eliminating the oratory of governmental assemblies altogether, there are still innumerable occasions that call for the deliberative orator. While forensic and pulpit oratory belong to members of a particular

profession, and the demand for demonstrative oratory is occasional, every American citizen is likely to be called upon at some time to express his views before a conference, a convention, or a public meeting called for a given purpose. And in these fields the press, far from supplanting the orator, only increases his opportunities by supplying the people with advance information and showing the advisability of public discussion.

FORENSIC ORATORY

The term "forensic" (from the Latin *forensis*, relating to the market place or forum) has a somewhat wider signification than appertains merely to courts of law. It is often used to designate an argument, either oral or written. Thus at Harvard University a "forensic" is a written argument, and at some colleges Forensic Day is a day set apart for public debates by students. However, for our purposes we will consider forensic oratory in its more usual signification as the oratory of the bar.

The early cultivation of public speaking in Greece and Rome arose, as we have seen, from the necessity imposed upon citizens of arguing their own causes before legal tribunals. In these conditions argumentation as a science had its origin, and with all the ancient writers it was forensic oratory that was held chiefly in mind. But the precepts and rules, worked out in great elaborateness by these writers, are largely

impracticable to-day. This because of the change in the organization and character of modern courts of law and in their methods of procedure.

The ancient courts, in the first place, were composed of a far larger number of judges than those of the present time. The judges who heard cases argued in the Areopagus or Forum have been variously estimated from fifty to five hundred in number. The court therefore partook of the nature of a popular assembly, and the advocate naturally employed arguments and emotional appeals that would be ineffective before a court of the present day. All the precepts given by the ancient orators presuppose a violent, partial, and sometimes corrupt magistrate who is to be won. "A modern court room has little resemblance to that public place in which were pronounced the decrees that abolished the royalties of Asia, where the honors of Rome were conferred, where laws were proposed and abrogated, and which was also the theater of the great judicial debates." [1]

Again, the ancient courts differed from the modern in the methods of procedure and in the latitude allowed in arguing a cause. The law, in the first place, was extremely simple: Cicero said that it could be mastered in three months. The judges were not only interpreters of the law, but also legislators. They passed on the facts as well as the law, and based their decision largely upon equity and a sense of justice; in reaching the decision they were

[1] Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, 38.

not hampered by codes or obstructed by precedents. A like liberty was allowed the advocate in presenting his case. He had few limitations upon either the material or the method of his speech. The pleadings, instead of relating to technicalities, to the construction of a statute or to facts of an involved and perplexing nature, were occupied with questions of elementary justice which even the uninstructed could understand, and which connected themselves at every step with strong, excited feelings. Moreover, the advocate was allowed a latitude of speech which would not now be tolerated. Arguments and appeals were employed which to-day would be regarded as extraneous and wholly irrelevant. The pleader appealed boldly to the passions and prejudices of his hearers; a defendant's public services, his moral character, his family affairs, were all considered legitimate topics for discussion. Cicero, in his plea in behalf of the citizenship of the poet Archias, devoted scant attention to the legal question involved; his oration was for the most part a laudation of Archias and of letters in general. As some one has said, Cicero's argument was that "Archias was a Roman citizen because he was a Greek poet."

All these matters are manifestly much changed in modern law practice. The judges sitting in any trial are small in number, and they are strictly governed in their rulings by law and precedent. Appeals to their prejudices or emotions are frowned upon; hard facts and plain logic are demanded. Moreover, the

advocate is confined in his plea within certain well-defined limits; and if he oversteps these boundaries, he is apt to be cut short by the court with a reminder that such-and-such a question or person is not in the case. And while this restriction applies to the argument to a jury as well as that addressed to judges only, there is a difference between the style of presentation adapted to these two bodies which it will be well briefly to notice.

The court sits in judgment, ordinarily, only upon points of law. The efforts of the advocate must therefore be directed toward the discussion of such questions as: What fundamental legal principles and what statute law are applicable to this case? What precedents are there for the speaker's interpretation of the law? And what adjudicated cases are similar to the case at bar, and sustain the general argument? That is, the argument should be purely an intellectual appeal. Emotional appeals are generally out of place, and are apt only to prejudice the speaker's cause. However, the advocate may, when occasion offers, sometimes effectively appeal to the higher range of motives, — such as the dignity of justice, the necessity of preserving our institutions, and the sacredness of the absolute and vested rights of individuals and classes. While judges are supposed to be steeled against perfervid eloquence, and to require the cold light of reason, yet such examples as Webster in the Dartmouth College case, or Jeremiah S. Black in the case of Milligan, or Joseph H. Choate

in the income tax cases, show that before even the higher courts dignified appeals may be effectively employed when they are apposite to the case and do not overstep the bounds of good taste. In the Milligan case, for example, wherein the defendant, during the Civil War, had been tried in Indiana for treason and sentenced by a military commission to be hanged, the attorney, Mr. Black, contending that his client had a constitutional right to trial by jury, closed his argument before the United States Supreme Court as follows: —

> You cannot help but see that military commissions, if suffered to go on, will be used for most pernicious purposes. . . . While they are utterly powerless to do even a shadow of good, they will be omnipotent to trample upon innocence, to gag the truth, to silence patriotism, and crush the liberties of the country. They will always be organized to convict, and the conviction will follow the accusation as surely as night follows the day. The government, of course, will accuse none before such a commission except those whom it predetermines to ruin and destroy. . . . A corrupt and tyrannical government, with such an engine at its command, will shock the world with the enormity of its crimes. Plied as it may be by the arts of a malignant priesthood, and urged on by the madness of a raving crowd, it will be worse than the Popish Plot, or the French Revolution — it will be a combination of both, with Fouquier-Tinville on the bench, and Titus Oates in the witness box. You can save us from this horrible fate. You alone can "deliver us from the body of this death." To that fearful extent is the destiny of this nation in your hands.[1]

[1] Ringwalt, *Modern American Oratory*, 180.

The address to the jury, being for the purpose of arriving at the facts in the case, as distinguished from the law, allows a wider range of both argument and appeal. Although the advocate must confine his speech to the questions of fact raised by the evidence, he nevertheless can, by commenting on the witnesses and their motives, by drawing upon his imagination, it may be, and by appealing to the predilections, prejudices, and sympathies of the jury, introduce far more of the persuasive element in his plea than would be proper in an argument to the court. A word of caution, however, especially to the young lawyer, may well be needed. Emotional appeals should not wholly take the place of, but should naturally grow out of, appeals to the reason. Much as our jury system has been condemned, the fact is that the average juryman is earnest and conscientious in attempting to find, in a given case, on which side justice lies, and he wants the advocate to enlighten his understanding no less than to arouse his emotions.

As an aid to this intellectual appeal, clearness of statement is absolutely essential. The successful advocate is he who can lead the jury to follow his statement of the case and to deduce certain facts as logical results of the facts stated. In the celebrated Thaw murder trial, in New York, one of the jurors is reported as saying, "Mr. Jerome's address made a profound impression on the jury; he is not an orator, but he presented facts in a lucid way." Fairness in the statement of the other side of the case is another

requisite. The lawyer who makes unfounded assertions and flagrant misstatements of his opponent's side of the case only prejudices his own side. Lincoln's success before a jury has been attributed largely to his power of lucid statement, together with his fair treatment of the opposing side.

Another prime requisite of a jury address is adaptability. The advocate must follow a line of reasoning comprehensible to the average juryman, and must appeal to appropriate motives. He should not, as is so often the case, "talk over the heads" of his hearers. On the other hand, he should beware of attempts to hoodwink or fool the jury by employing the arts of the demagogue. He who uses ungrammatical language, for example, in an attempt to ally himself more closely with his hearers, usually defeats his own purposes, for the average jury is composed of hard-headed, earnest men who resent any indications of flattery or pettifogging. In short, the advocate must be honest and sincere. To be sure, he is not called upon to argue his opponent's side of the case; but in presenting his own side, he should be fair to his opponent, honest in his statements, and sincere in his presentation of the truth relating to the interests of his client.

The general structure of a forensic oration, whether ancient or modern, whether delivered to the court or to the jury, consists of these three essential parts: (1) a statement of the facts of the case, (2) a statement, deduced from these facts, of the points at issue,

and (3) the proof of these issues. We have already noticed the necessity of clear and lucid statement. But having gotten the case, so far as undisputed facts are concerned, before the court or jury, the next inquiry is, What are the points in dispute? What points, if proved, will establish my case? Having decided upon these vital points, — the issues, — the advocate then sifts the evidence and applies the law to uphold his side of the argument. A forensic address is of course always argumentative in its nature and form, and hence the points here noted regarding its structure apply generally to any argumentative discourse.

PULPIT ORATORY

Next to government itself — and in one view before it — no institution is of such importance in human affairs as the Church, and the most prominent feature of the church service, ordinarily, is the sermon. A man may be a successful lawyer without being an advocate, or a statesman without being a deliberative orator, but he cannot well be a minister without being a preacher.

The pulpit affords exceptional opportunities for oratory proper. Reason may underlie one's religion, but always the emotions must be quickened, for the very essence of true religion is that it comes from the heart. The sermon may be in part narrative, or expository, or argumentative, but sooner or later it must

also be persuasive. Man must be incited to hate that which is evil, and to cling to that which is good. And, too, the preacher is called upon constantly to appeal to the highest motives. He deals with subjects of transcendent importance. The deliberative or forensic orator is concerned with questions appertaining to human affairs; the pulpit orator looks behind human affairs in order to make life and conduct consonant with the divine will. His themes relate both to earth and to heaven, to life and to death, to time and to eternity. Again, the character of the audience and the environment generally are aids to persuasion. The hearers are generally in sympathy with the speaker and well disposed toward his discourse; and the æsthetic influences ordinarily present — the quiet atmosphere of worship, the stained glass windows, the music, etc. — further aid the pulpit orator. Finally, the sermon aims at the individual rather than at the congregation in the aggregate. Its effects are not to be determined, as in the case of deliberative oratory, by majority vote. To each individual the preacher may say, in the language of Solomon, "If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself; but if thou scornest, thou alone shalt bear it." The preacher, therefore, has the further incentive of knowing that if his words affect favorably a single individual in his audience, they are not uttered in vain.

With all these advantages, why, it may be asked, are sermons generally so bad? Why do they not

attract larger congregations? These are questions which have been much discussed and variously answered. One contention is that it is practically impossible for the average preacher, along with his other duties, to compose two good sermons each week; that in the effort to do so he undertakes what no other class of public speakers would think of attempting. However much truth there may be in this contention, certain it is that one good sermon weekly were far better than two or more poor ones.

A treatise on homiletics would be outside the scope of this book; nor would the author essay a ready solution of an acknowledgedly difficult problem. However, a few suggestions, which are supported by the authority of eminent and successful preachers, are offered here for what they may be worth.

Among the more or less common faults of sermons may be mentioned: (1) assertiveness, (2) lack of unity, and (3) lack of adaptability.

(1) The privilege of speaking without interruption or subsequent reply, which the pulpit orator enjoys, carries with it the danger of indulging in dogmatic, unfounded statements for which no evidence is offered; or, if authority is cited, the value of such authority is not shown. Mere assertiveness, as is well known, carries no conviction to intelligent minds, and hence fails to produce belief. It is a matter of common observation that both preachers and teachers naturally tend to become dogmatic.

(2) Another fault of the average sermon is its incoherent structure. The divisions of the oration and qualities of oral discourse generally are later discussed, so suffice it to say here that any address, to be effective, must be built on a plan. The preacher selects a topic for his sermon — the lesson of the hour. In the consideration of this topic he finds that some one fundamental idea, say, needs to be presented. His whole sermon, then, should be directed to the varied exposition, argument, and exhortation appropriate for the enforcement and reënforcement of this central idea. Only by following such a plan can any address make a definite impress upon the minds of the hearers. Yet how many a sermon do we hear that fails of being a unified and comprehensible whole. The total effect is blurred and indistinct. This is frequently the result, no doubt, of attempting to say in a half hour's discourse all that can be said upon a given topic, instead of selecting a few of the most useful and persuasive thoughts associated with the text. Lacking unity, the hearer gets no single point or points as constituting the theme of the discourse, and hence the sermon fails of any lasting impress. Says Robinson, in his *Lectures on Preaching* (page 41): —

> Few discourses are less interesting or less profitable to intelligent people than those which consist of a series of disconnected paragraphs hung upon single words, clauses, or sentences of Scripture, but disclosing no single principle that gives harmony and unity to the whole. At the outset

we are entertained, perhaps, with a vivid description of a bit of scenery, or of some august occasion; then we have a scrap of archæology; then a slight touch of exegesis; then a patch of doctrine; then a bit of physical science; then a word of exhortation; then a page from ancient history; then a snatch of poetry; and in conclusion, a contrast or comparison between the present and the time in which the text was written, — all leaving no single, definite impression.

(3) Again, a sermon often lacks adaptation to the congregation addressed. It is fundamental, of course, that any discourse, to be effective, must reach that particular audience. The preacher has an exceptional opportunity of becoming acquainted with his hearers and learning their special needs. And yet, how often is the sermon ill adapted to those needs. A fairly intelligent and cultured audience hears the preacher inveighing against sins which the hearers never thought of committing; and a congregation composed largely of people who are struggling with elemental problems of life are told of the beatitudes, or of the intricate points in a given doctrine. In a recent address by a lawyer before a church conference, the speaker said: —

The legal mind likes a sermon which has within it, whether by way of simile, word picture, or line of reasoning, the markings of a mind that has looked at life in a broad way, that has familiarized itself with the many shades of life around us, that has gone forth studiously, intelligently, charitably, to learn of others their mode of living, their ways of thinking, their weaknesses by nature, their points of yield-

ing to surrounding influences, their ambitions, prejudices, latent possibilities, and the thousand and one things that we are pleased to call environment.

Again, sermons have a natural tendency to sameness. Through lack of adaptability from week to week, they fail to reach the different classes in the congregation. The subjects for sermons are necessarily trite; they relate to life-old problems. The preacher should therefore make a special effort to apply his topic to the immediate audience, and to treat subjects from varying points of view. Says Brastow, in his *Representative Modern Preachers*, "The great problem that confronts the majority of preachers is: How may I escape this woeful and everlasting sameness that imprisons all my productions?" The problem involves a constant study in variety and adaptability.

The purely doctrinal sermon has largely been discarded in modern times, and a subject of much discussion has been, Shall the preacher confine himself to a purely "gospel" sermon, so called, or shall he apply the gospel truths to present-day social and political questions? But if he is to make his sermons varied, interesting, adaptable, and helpful, why confine himself to either of these two types to the exclusion of the other? Why not combine the two? On this matter, in his lectures to the Yale divinity students, Phillips Brooks said: —

The preacher is neither the abstract religionist devoted to the fostering of certain spiritual conditions, heedless of how

they show their worth or worthlessness in the moral life which they produce; nor is he the enlightened economist, weighing with anxious heart the evil of sins, but knowing nothing of the sinfulness of sin from which they come. He is the messenger of Christ to the soul of man always. His sermon about temperance, or the late election, or the wickedness of oppression, is not an exception, an intrusion in the current of that preaching which is always testifying of the spiritual salvation. He is ready to speak on any topic of the day, but his sermon is not likely to be mistaken for an article from some daily newspaper. It looks at the topic from a loftier height, traces the trouble to a deeper source, and is not satisfied except with a more thorough cure. . . . I despise all the weak assertions that a minister must not preach politics because he will injure his influence if he does, or because it is unworthy of his sacred office. . . . When some clear question of right and wrong presents itself, and men with some strong passion or sordid interest are going wrong, then your sermon is a poor, untimely thing if it deals only with the abstractions of eternity, and has no word to help the men who are dizzied with the whirl and blinded with the darkness of to-day. . . . In a land like ours, where the tone of the people is of vast value in public affairs, the preachers who have so much to do in the creation of the popular tone must always have their part in politics.[1]

After all, the most useful preaching is always the best. The test of a good sermon is not whether it is a learned discourse, a discussion of "sound doctrine," a literary or political lecture, but the test question always is: Does it make a deep and lasting impression upon the individual hearer? After listening to the eloquent Bishop of Clermont, Father Massillon,

[1] *Lectures on Preaching*, 140–142.

preach at Versailles, Louis XIV said to him, "Father, I have heard many great orators in this chapel, and have been highly pleased with them; but for you, whenever I hear you, I go away displeased with myself, for I see more of my own character."

DEMONSTRATIVE ORATORY

It must be confessed that the term "demonstrative," when used to designate a division of oratory, conveys but little meaning. It is simply a convenient term under which to group orations not coming strictly within one of the divisions previously considered; and it is retained here in preference to some other appellation because, first, it is embedded in classic usage, and secondly, because no other term — such as "occasional," for example, which is substituted by some modern writers — seems any better.

It is sometimes said that demonstrative oratory is of comparatively little importance; that it has no practical purpose other than to please. Now, it must be admitted that there is much speaking without any apparent purpose other than that of affording momentary pleasure or satisfaction. But we may dismiss this type at once, for unless a man has a purpose in speaking beyond mere entertainment, — unless, of course, he is an actor or a dramatic reader, — he had best keep silent. But to put all demonstrative oratory in the category of purposeless speech, or the oratory of display, is certainly far from the

truth. It is to be remembered that the *action* resulting from persuasion may be physical or mental, immediate or ultimate. Many discourses in the fields of both pulpit and demonstrative oratory aim only to stimulate thought, to arouse latent emotions, but no immediate action upon the speaker's words is expected. It does not follow, however, that such speaking is purposeless, for its aim is to impel the hearers toward nobler and higher thought and conduct. Take, for example, the orations delivered on Independence Day. Some of them, to be sure, — the "spread-eagle" type, — are bad enough; but generally considered, can we say that the recounting of the Revolutionary struggles and accomplishments, and the need of treasuring the sacred heritage handed down to us, serves no useful purpose? And so, many addresses which are commemorative of some noteworthy event, are powerful incentives toward a broader outlook, a truer conception, and a nobler life.

In America demonstrative oratory has been cultivated more than in any other country and put to more varied uses. Its literature is almost boundless; for, unlike many speeches in other departments of oratory, which have perished with the occasion, the orations delivered in this field have usually been carefully prepared, and by themselves constitute a valuable oratorical literature. Almost infinite, too, are the occasions for demonstrative oratory in America. For the purpose of separate consideration,

we will notice these five types: the eulogy, the commemorative address, the after-dinner speech, the political speech, and the platform oration.

The Eulogy. — We have seen that the ancients considered the function of demonstrative oratory as that of bestowing praise or blame. The subjects for eulogy, however, were not restricted to men, as they usually are to-day, but gods, cities, and even inanimate objects or abstract virtues might be made the themes of praise. But next to the military harangue before or after a battle, which characterized the early eloquence of nations, doubtless the panegyric of the dead is the primeval form of demonstrative oratory. Fragmentary examples are seen in David's lament for the first king of Israel and his son, slain together on the mountains of Gilboa, and in the apostrophe of Demosthenes to the heroes of Marathon and Platea. A later and more fully developed form of the ancient eulogy is exemplified in the funeral orations by Plato and Pericles over those who fell in the Peloponnesian war. In more modern times the French, beginning with the time of Louis XIV, have brought the eulogy to a high state of development. The funeral orations by such noted prelates as Massillon, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Fléchier, in the seventeenth century, and the *éloges*, beginning in 1635, when the first Academy was founded, and continuing to the present time, — discourses delivered by famous men in commemoration of men equally famous, — have produced a literature of the eulogy formidable in its proportions.

In our own country, also, the eulogy is a form of public speech which has been much practiced. The death of almost every man of prominence, especially if he has been identified with public affairs, is observed by pronouncing a eulogy commemorating his life and services; and not infrequently these eulogies are the most enduring memorials of the men whom they commemorate. The best specimens of congressional oratory will be found in this field. As is well known, a certain time is always set apart by Congress for pronouncing eulogies on deceased members. These discourses, usually prepared with considerable care, are among the best examples in eulogistic oratory.

The subjects being now ordinarily confined to the praises of men, there are two ways of proceeding: (1) the biographical method, and (2) the selective or "ethical" method. The one considers primarily a person's career, the other his qualities.

The biographical method is the easier, though usually less interesting and inspiring. It treats a life chronologically, often beginning with the genealogy, then takes up in order the topics of his birth, childhood, youth, manhood, middle life, old age, and death. The method is sometimes varied by some brief observations and reflections in concluding, or by interspersing the biography with sundry comments. The latter was the method employed by Blaine in his classic eulogy of Garfield, and many other excellent examples may be found among the orations of Edward Everett.

The plan of combining the two methods, provided that time permits a somewhat lengthy address, may sometimes be advantageously employed, but otherwise the biographical method has now been largely abandoned. There are several reasons why this is so. One is, that the newspapers now furnish us with the biographical matter which formerly it was the function of the orator to supply, and to repeat this in a spoken eulogy would be needless and tiresome. Again, a eulogy constructed on this plan is of little interest or value. It is apt to impress an audience as flat and uninspiring. Further, the reciting of a biographical sketch cannot appeal with much force to a man of ability or originality. Any one with the material at hand can readily construct such a speech; and it is for this reason that the average student — proceeding along the line of least resistance — is prone to adopt a biographical treatment in composing a eulogy. The result is a mere encyclopedic paraphrase — a fulsomely phrased listing of the events of a man's life in language individual only in its tameness. Unless one has time for a lengthy oration, then, the biographical method should be avoided. For a five-, ten-, or twenty-minute address, never begin by telling when and where a man was born, how he was educated, what he did, or when he died. When these topics are referred to at all, it should be only by way of incident or illustration.

In the selective method the prominent qualities of a man form the principal divisions of the discourse,

and these qualities are treated without regard to chronological order. Little attention is paid to events as such; perhaps no dates at all will be mentioned. But the eulogist seeks to answer such questions as: What were the sources of this man's power? What qualities mark him as a great man? What was the purpose of his life — what did he stand for? What are the lessons of his life? And what is his probable place in history? A few central ideas must first be decided upon, and then the facts of character and of events must be adduced to show their truth and pertinency. This involves a careful analysis of character and motives, a discriminating judgment in balancing the good and the bad, and a just estimate of a life as a whole. It is obvious that such a method necessitates far more labor and originality than a mere biographical narrative, but it is the only method that will produce effective results.

Again, in the construction of a eulogy, the question arises, How should weaknesses of character and disagreeable features of a man's life be treated? Should they be ignored, or should one employ invective as well as panegyric? It may be said, in the first place, that the eulogist is not necessarily the biographer; he is not bound to dwell upon all phases of one's career with undeviating impartiality; he may choose to emphasize the good and to slight the bad. Moreover, it is human to speak only praise of the dead. The imperfections and faults which annoyed and exasperated during the lifetime of the deceased

are forgotten as the oblivious years move on, while that which was best in his life and character survives for remembrance. And yet, it does not follow that unstinted praise must always be bestowed; indeed, with the average subject of eulogy it is undesirable. This is a common fault with most students' eulogies. They are fulsomely indiscriminating. There is no poise and balance in the estimate, no light and shade in the picture. In giving a just estimate of one's life, imperfections cannot well be ignored, for they represent the struggle with the good. Further, virtues are brought into stronger relief by their juxtaposition to defects and faults. The problem is, to maintain a proper balance between the good and the bad, — stressing the good qualities, while not necessarily ignoring the bad. The task of the eulogist is to give a just estimate of the life *as a whole*. And at the end he will ask, Have I faithfully portrayed the strong features of this man's life as it will be recalled when the future shall eliminate the petty and imperfect, and leave only the best and the imperishable? Take, for example, the eulogy of Charles Sumner by J. Q. C. Lamar, delivered in the United States Senate in 1874. In their political views, and especially in their opinions on the questions preceding and growing out of the Civil War, these two men were diametrically opposed to each other. And yet Mr. Lamar was able to pay Mr. Sumner a sincere tribute. Another excellent example is found in the eulogy of Wendell Phillips by

George William Curtis. Mr. Phillips not infrequently employed such an intemperate denunciation of men and measures as a well-poised man like Mr. Curtis could not approve. This fact the eulogist did not attempt to conceal, but it did not prevent his delivering a masterly oration on the great agitator, whom he highly regarded and sincerely admired. He said: —

> I am not here to declare that the judgment of Wendell Phillips was always sound, nor his estimate of men always just, nor his policy always approved by the event. He would have scorned such praise. I am not here to eulogize the mortal, but the immortal. He, too, was a great American patriot; and no American life — no, not one — offers to future generations of his countrymen a more priceless example of inflexible fidelity to conscience and to public duty; and no American more truly than he purged the national name of its shame, and made the American flag the flag of hope for mankind.[1]

The Commemorative Address. — Closely related to the eulogy is the commemorative address. The one is a memorial of a person, the other of an event. If the events celebrated belong to the past, — such as July 4, 1776, or Washington's birthday, — the discourse is usually called an *anniversary* oration; if to the present, — such as the laying of a corner stone or the dedication of a monument, — it is called a *dedicatory* oration.

The earliest examples in the literature of com-

[1] *Orations and Addresses*, III, 301.

memorative eloquence are full of reminiscence as an inspiring motive. The memorial festivals of the Hebrews, and the festivals in Greece and Rome for the purpose of honoring and supplicating the gods, as well as those for commemorating persons and events, furnished occasions for the commemorative orator, the burden of whose plea always was, "Remember this day and its meaning." But it is in our own country that the commemorative address has been put to most frequent and varied use. The celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims and of Washington's birthday, for example, are only two of many events that have brought forth an extensive literature in the field of commemorative oratory.

Analogous to the eulogy, there are two ways of proceeding in the preparation of a commemorative address: first, to dwell upon the events as such; secondly, to dwell upon the importance and meaning of the events. In the first method, the main requisites are a rapid style and a sense for the order and proportion of the incidents narrated. But ordinarily the commemorative orator should not stop with a mere narration of events. The material can usually be found in a history or encyclopedia, and unless the events are little known or especially picturesque, the narrative is not apt to prove interesting or instructive. Some narration, to be sure, as a foundation or setting for the address, will be found both proper and necessary. In the celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims, for example, some

account of the conditions which led them to come to America, their exile, and the hardships they experienced would naturally be incorporated in an address upon such an occasion. But the interest to Americans lies not in the events merely, but rather in the principles producing such events and in the institutions founded on these principles. The commemorative is "the oratory of the ideal founded upon the real; the eloquence of romance resting upon fact."[1] The real is found in the events; the ideal is to be found in answer to such questions as: What is the meaning of this occasion? What does it stand for? What results have flowed from it? What are likely to be its importance and influence in future history? Thus, upon the occasion of the dedication of a monument to General Franz Sigel, October 19, 1907, at New York City, Governor Hughes said: —

> It is our privilege to assemble here in honor of a brave soldier who rendered distinguished service to his adopted country. In the dedication of this monument we pay a fitting tribute to his memory. But it is more than a memorial to courage or to military skill; it is more than a tribute to individual worth. It speaks not simply of the service of the accomplished officer whose name it bears, but it is also eloquent of the patriotic ardor which has characterized the sons of the fatherland he so worthily represented, and of their important contribution to our national life.

The After-dinner Speech. — The custom of after-dinner speaking is of ancient origin, as is shown in

[1] Sears, *The Occasional Address*, 253.

the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The feudal feasts of the Middle Ages, with the lord or baron as toastmaster, have their counterpart in the more formal occasions of modern times. But in America the custom has produced a species of oratory which in its abundance and characteristics has no counterpart elsewhere. The practice has grown in favor, so that now at almost every dinner having the slightest semblance of formality speeches are called for. Not that every one always enjoys this part of the dinner; it often unnerves the speakers and bores the hearers. We hear all sorts of speeches, — the grave and the gay, the serious and the silly. But the quantity alone of such speaking demands an attempt to determine its requirements.

The circumstances under which an after-dinner speech is given will both explain and determine its general character. Food and drink render the hearers ill adapted to a heavy discourse; they are indisposed to much mental exertion. They are good-natured and receptive, but want above all to be entertained, and entertainment involves the element of interest. The first requisite, then, of postprandial oratory is that it be interesting. And this is one reason why the humorous anecdote or story is associated with after-dinner occasions. The story is doubtless frequently overworked, and many an effort is rendered intolerable by a medley of unrelated stories, or of jokes unrelated to one's subject. But the judicious use of good stories, so that they be pat, not too

numerous, and really illustrative of the point under discussion, goes a long way toward making speeches interesting.

To be interesting, however, it is not always necessary to speak in a humorous vein. The happy treatment, with felicitous phrasing, may sometimes advantageously supplant the prerogatives of cap and bells. For instance, at a banquet of the New York Chamber of Commerce, George William Curtis gave the following happy word picture of the genius of Washington Irving: —

> He touched our historic river with the glamour of the imagination. He invested it with the subtle and enduring charm of literary association. He peopled it with figures that make it dear to the whole world, like Scott's Tweed or Burns's Bonny Doon. The belated wanderer, in the twilight roads of Tarrytown, as he hears approaching the pattering gallop behind him, knows that it is not his neighbor; it is the Headless Horseman of Sleepy Hollow. It is not thunder that we hear in the Katskill on a still summer afternoon; it is the airy game of Hendrik Hudson's crew that Rip Van Winkle heard. The commerce of New York may penetrate every sea, and carry around the world the promise of the American flag and the grandeur of the American name, and return triumphant with the trophies of every clime; but over their leagues of wharves and towering warehouses and far-stretching streets can it throw a charm, as fresh to the next century as to this, such as the genius of literature cast upon the quaint little Dutch town more than two centuries ago, and upon the river which is our pride?

Many noteworthy speeches, indeed, speeches by men who had real messages to deliver, are found in

the literature of after-dinner oratory. Take, for instance, the speeches delivered at the annual banquets of the New England Society of New York City. Along with those in lighter vein are found pregnant messages by the most eminent men in our country. To cite but two examples: the speech by George William Curtis in 1876, on "Liberty under the Law," which practically settled, it has been claimed, the Hayes-Tilden presidential contest, and that by Henry W. Grady in 1886 on "The New South," were epoch-making speeches that aided mightily in turning the tide of public opinion throughout the whole country.

For the average man, however, the typical after-dinner speech is associated with humorous stories, graceful rhetoric, quaint conceits, and a genius for manipulating and alternating in a brief compass the lighter and graver shades of thought. And to put the thought "in a brief compass" is perhaps the desideratum in after-dinner oratory. Let the average speaker, then, be interesting if possible, but in any case let him be brief. Not every speaker can be wise or witty, but each one should at least cultivate that virtue which is said to be the soul of wit. If a speech is brief, the hearers will excuse dullness — and even erudition. But speakers are proverbially the worst of timekeepers, and between their fear lest they betray poverty of thought and concern lest they shall not say all they wish to on the subject, the after-dinner audience is frequently bored by prolix talkers.

James Russell Lowell once humorously remarked that the after-dinner speaker should use a joke, a platitude, a quotation — and then stop. Generally speaking, this advice were well to follow. As a rule, attention should be gained at the outset by an apt anecdote, it may be, or by a tactful reference to the toastmaster's introduction, or to the occasion. One anecdote or story is usually enough: every magician knows the danger of practicing the same trick twice before the same company. Then let the anecdote or story be at once applied to the point to be made. Only one or two ideas are necessary — or desirable. These should be fresh and striking, if possible; platitudes, if need be. The point of the speech may then be reënforced by an appropriate quotation. And then— stop.

The Political Speech. — While campaign speechmaking belongs, in a sense, in the division of deliberative oratory, it is treated here as a separate division for the purpose of separate consideration.

Though the quality of campaign oratory is frequently in inverse proportion to its quantity, and though cynics pooh-pooh its value and influence, yet the fact remains that it is, and must continue to be, a powerful factor in our government. That astute party managers recognize this is shown, not only by the large number of speakers employed for campaigning in the political meetings of townships and counties, but also by the sending of the "big guns" to aid in conquering a doubtful state. The power of the press in influencing political action is admittedly great, but

it can never wholly supplant the speaker, for the finest wisdom diffused in cold type must always lack the persuasiveness of living words. The shortest avenue to the greatest political influence with the American people will always lead from the rostrum. And this condition, after all, has its encouraging aspects. The press is almost wholly partisan, however independent professedly, and when the mass of voters, after being talked to by spokesmen of different parties, are set to talking among and thinking for themselves, this oral campaigning becomes a most desirable and powerful factor in political education, and hence in determining political action. Speaking along this line, the late Carl Schurz, upon the occasion of the celebration of his seventieth birthday in New York City, March 2, 1899, said: —

> Whoever has been much in contact with the masses of our population knows that a large majority of the American people honestly and earnestly mean to do right; and also that, the wildest temporary excitements notwithstanding, they wish as earnestly to satisfy themselves as to what is right, and, therefore, welcome serious arguments and appeals to the highest order of motives. With such a people democratic government will be the more successful, the more the public opinion ruling it is enlightened and inspired by full and thorough discussion. The greatest danger threatening democratic institutions comes from the influence, whether consisting in an excessive party spirit, or whatever else, which tends to stifle or demoralize discussion, and to impair the opportunities of the people for considering and deciding public questions on their own merits.

Now, there are two objects which a political speaker may propose for himself: first, the awakening of party spirit in order to whip into line the indifferent, the laggard, or the backslider; and secondly, the making of converts. Each of these objects has its advocates and representatives in every political campaign.

The engendering of party enthusiasm — speaking now of things as they are, and not necessarily as they should be — has always been an element of more or less importance and influence in political campaigns in this country. During and following the period of our Civil War this was especially noticeable; sectional animosities rendered the "waving of the bloody shirt" and appeals to "the grand old party" prominent characteristics of national and state campaigns. The type of stump speaker generally in demand was one who could keep the voters in line by telling funny stories, on the one hand, and by fanning the flames of sectional prejudice and abusing the nominees of the opposing party, on the other. But during the last decade our political oratory has unquestionably been raised in tone and quality. The people as a whole have grown tired of mere party abuse, and especially of the abuse of candidates for office. True, the object, and the only object, of campaign oratory is to get votes. And the question is, can votes best be gotten by attempting to keep men within party lines, or by appealing to those outside the party. Undoubtedly the growth in numbers of the inde-

pendent voters, who hold the balance of power in many states, has made political managers more wary of mere party appeals. The presidential contest of 1896, for example, was avowedly a "campaign of education"; and in recent campaigns it is an encouraging fact that sectional and partisan appeals and personal abuse have largely disappeared. And this, in turn, has done away, to a large extent, with the old-time "spellbinder." Not that this type has wholly disappeared. We still have the verbosity and generalities and platitudes and superlativeness of the "silver-tongued," but the demands of a reading and thinking public are more and more for the speaker who has a capacity for facts and the power of presenting them clearly and forcibly. A single example of the one kind of campaign oratory, as contrasted with the other, is furnished in a recent gubernatorial campaign in Alabama. Writing in the *Reader Magazine* for October, 1907, Mr. Herbert Quick prefaces his description of this campaign by saying that it was the story of the honest and successful business man pitted against the typical machine candidate and natural orator. Continuing, the writer says:—

> This natural orator was the handsome, eloquent, convivial, jovial, and kind-hearted lieutenant governor, Dr. R. M. Cunningham, who challenged Mr. Comer to a joint debate, and fared as did the first opponent of Tom Johnson, of Cleveland, in Johnson's first campaign. In both cases it was a spellbinder against the man with the bludgeon of facts.

Dr. Cunningham felt at once that new standards of discussion had been set up. His eloquent tributes to the beauty of Alabama's women and the chivalry of her sons were as fine as heart could wish. Comer stuck to freight rates. Cunningham cried out in polished periods for good roads. Everybody is for good roads, said Comer, but how about the pass evil and the lobby? Cunningham drew tears as he spoke for the "old veterans." Comer replied that he was one of them, while Cunningham was not; but how about reciprocal demurrage? Then Cunningham came over to Comer's platform, and demanded more reform than did Comer. Comer, clinging to his man like a bulldog, replied that this was unconstitutional nonsense. Gradually it dawned on the spellbinder that something was walking remorselessly over him, trampling out his political life, and that the something was Braxton Bragg Comer, the man who could not make a speech. Comer carried sixty of the sixty-seven counties of the state, and won by twenty thousand votes.

The political orator for to-day, then, is not the funny man; he may entertain a popular audience, but that is often a long way from winning votes. Campaign speakers of real influence, such as Lincoln and Douglas, Garfield and Tilden, Bryan and Roosevelt, take too serious a view of their responsibilities to waste their time in mere fun making. Nor is it the old-time partisan campaigner, but rather the speaker who, while not neglecting party aims and platforms, presents arguments that arouse serious reflection, and bases his appeals solely on the principles and policies that he believes will make for the public weal.

The Platform Oration. — Platform oratory, or what

is sometimes called the oratory of the special occasion, is simply a convenient term for designating addresses in the field of demonstrative oratory that do not come strictly under another classification. Examples are found in the popular lecture, the commencement address, an address before a Chautauqua assembly or a literary society, and the like.

In the period before our Civil War, the lyceum took the place, to a large extent, of the modern magazine and newspaper. Almost every city and town had its course of lectures; and such noted men as Emerson, Curtis, Phillips, Beecher, Vance, and John B. Gough graced the lyceum platform. This was the Golden Age of the lecture system in America. We still have intermittent addresses by professional lecturers in some sections of the country, but, generally speaking, there has come about a marked decline in both quantity and quality. The most talented lecturers now appear, for the most part, at Chautauquas, college commencements, and other similar occasions. Such addresses, however, are not infrequently of great importance and of enduring value. Consider alone those delivered annually before the Chautauqua assemblies; they are the highest expression of the best thoughts of the ablest minds in the country. Many speeches in other divisions of oratory are either hurriedly prepared or are, so far as form is concerned, the expression of the moment. The platform oration, on the other hand, is usually prepared at leisure, and in thought and expression

represents the speaker's best effort. Hence it is that while platform addresses, in the case of a given speaker, may be far less in number than other oratorical efforts, they are frequently the only productions that survive the author.

EXERCISES

1. To what division of oratory do the following respectively belong? (*a*) An oration, by a student on the regular program, before a school or college literary society; (*b*) an argument before such society in a program debate; (*c*) an argument on a motion pending before such society; (*d*) an address before the society upon the death of one of its members; (*e*) a speech before a students' council which is trying the case of a student charged with cheating on examination; (*f*) an oration at Arbor Day exercises; (*g*) a baccalaureate sermon; (*h*) an address to a graduating class; (*i*) an address upon the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of a church; (*j*) a speech of welcome; (*k*) an oration delivered by a student in a class exercise upon a subject of his own choosing.

2. Let each student bring to class a written outline of a proposed ten-minute address on the general subject: The Greatest Man in American History, or, The Greatest Man in the History of This State. Discuss these outlines with the class.

3. Similar outlines, or addresses in full, may be made in the various other divisions of oratory, as: (*a*) a deliberative or forensic speech upon an hypothetical occasion; (*b*) a short sermon on a text chosen by the student; (*c*) an oration upon the occasion of the celebration of Washington's birthday; (*d*) a five-minute after-dinner speech at an hypothetical occasion and on an assigned subject; (*e*) an address on the subject, A Problem Appertaining to This School; (*f*) a valedictory address to your class.

CHAPTER III

THE DIVISIONS OF THE ORATION

We now turn from the different divisions of oratory to the divisions of the oration itself; from the various occasions of an address to the ordering of its subject-matter. This is what the ancient rhetoricians called "disposition" — another name for method. According to Cicero, it is "an orderly arrangement of the things invented"; or, as Quintilian says, it is "a useful distribution of things, or of parts, assigning to each its proper place and station." In whatever order the thoughts on a given subject may have come to a speaker's mind, manifestly this is not always — nor usually — the best order for presentation to an audience. There are certain natural divisions of an oration, a natural order in the arrangement of these divisions, and certain general characteristics belonging to each part, which are more or less common to all kinds of oratory.

Aristotle classified the parts of an oration into four divisions: exordium, exposition, proof, and peroration. Quintilian distinguishes five parts: introduction, narration, proof, refutation, and conclusion. And Cicero has six divisions: introduction, narra-

tion, proposition, proof, refutation, and conclusion. All these classifications only use different names for practically the same thing. Cicero's addition of "proposition" and "refutation" merely name subdivisions of Aristotle's "exposition" and "proof," respectively. Taking the divisions of Cicero, the function of each part, briefly stated, is as follows: The introduction is to prepare the minds of the hearers for a favorable reception of what is to follow. The narration consists in a statement of the facts on which the subsequent argument, or discussion, is based. The proposition, or partition, is a statement of what the speaker proposes to prove or show. The proof is the body of the oration, or the discussion proper. Refutation is the answering of objections to the speaker's position, and the conclusion, or peroration, is the reënforcement of the main points in the discussion.

Not all of these parts are necessary for every discourse. In deliberative oratory, for example, when a motion has already been discussed by previous speakers, little or no introduction is required. A narration may or may not be necessary. The partition — the proposed method of treatment — is almost always desirable in an argumentative address, but in other cases, and especially if the audience is hostile, it is best omitted for gradual unfolding as the discussion proceeds.

Disregarding those cases where no introduction is necessary, and understanding that the narration and

partition, when employed, belong to introduction, we may say that the essential parts of an oration are: (1) the Introduction, (2) the Discussion, and (3) the Conclusion. This is a division both natural and necessary, for every oration must have a beginning, a greater or less continuance, and an ending.

With reference to subject-matter, Genung[1] says that the purpose of the introduction is to set forth whatever is necessary to explain the subject; of the discussion, whatever is necessary to establish the subject; and of the conclusion, whatever is necessary to apply the subject. But this is an impersonal point of view; it leaves out of consideration the relation of speaker and hearers as human beings. It will repay us, therefore, to consider in more detail the function of each of these divisions.

THE INTRODUCTION

The beginning of any speech is an extremely important part. Cicero and Quintilian mention three ends to one or all of which an introduction may lend itself: "reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles," — to render the hearers well-disposed toward the speaker, attentive to his speech, and open to conviction. It is plain that the second of these ends depends upon the first, and the third upon the second. That is, the very first effort of the orator — whenever such an effort becomes necessary — must be to

[1] *Practical Rhetoric*, 199.

remove any hostility or prejudice, for it is a commonplace to remark that no one can persuade a hostile audience. If there be hostility to the speaker personally, he must aim in some way to win favor by conciliation. Just how this may be accomplished each occasion must determine, and few suggestions of any practical value can be offered in advance. He may be able to find some common bond of sympathy, to show that prejudice is ill-founded, or to bestow a sincere and judicious compliment. A direct personal appeal for a fair hearing may sometimes be appropriate and effective. This was the method successfully employed by Henry Ward Beecher in his speeches in England during our Civil War. Thus, in his noted speech at Liverpool, he began as follows: —

> It is a matter of very little consequence to me, personally, whether I speak here to-night or not. But one thing is very certain, if you do permit me to speak here to-night, you will hear very plain talking. You will not find me to be a man that dared to speak about Great Britain three thousand miles off, and then is afraid to speak to Great Britain when he stands on her shores. And if I do not mistake the tone and temper of Englishmen, they had rather have a man who opposes them in a manly way than a sneak that agrees with them in an unmanly way. Now, if I can carry you with me by sound convictions, I shall be immensely glad; but if I cannot carry you with me by facts and sound arguments, I do not wish you to go with me at all; and all that I ask is simply *fair play*.

And Burke, in one part of the introduction of his

great speech on Conciliation with the American Colonies, said: —

To restore order and repose to an empire so great and so distracted as ours, is, merely in the attempt, an undertaking that would ennoble the flights of the highest genius, and obtain pardon for the efforts of the meanest understanding. Struggling a good while with these thoughts, by degrees I felt myself more firm. I derived, at length, some confidence from what in other circumstances usually produces timidity. I grew less anxious, even from the idea of my own insignificance. For, judging of what you are by what you ought to be, I persuaded myself that you would not reject a reasonable proposition because it had nothing but its reason to recommend it. On the other hand, being totally destitute of all shadow of influence, natural or adventitious, I was very sure that, if my proposition were futile or dangerous — if it were weakly conceived, or improperly timed — there was nothing exterior to it of power to awe, dazzle, or delude you. You will see it just as it is; and you will treat it just as it deserves.

Hostility is sometimes successfully met by open defiance, or by the moral courage which a supreme crisis may call forth. The maiden speech of Wendell Phillips is illustrative. Replying to the commonwealth's attorney in Faneuil Hall, at a meeting called to take action on the murder at Alton, Illinois, of an abolitionist named Lovejoy, Phillips said: —

Mr. Chairman: We have met for the freest discussion of these resolutions, and the events which gave rise to them. I hope I shall be permitted to express my surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker, — surprise not only at such sentiments from such a man, but at the applause they have

received within these walls. A comparison has been drawn between the events of the Revolution and the tragedy at Alton. We have heard the mob at Alton, the drunken murderers of Lovejoy, compared to those patriot fathers who threw the tea overboard! . . . Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips [pointing to the portraits in the hall] would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, — the slanderer of the dead. The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up. [At this point such an uproar ensued that it was some time before the speaker could continue.] Fellow-citizens, I cannot take back my words. Surely the attorney-general, so long and well known here, needs not the aid of your hisses against one so young as I am, — my voice never before heard within these walls! . . . One word, gentlemen. As much as thought is better than money, so much is the cause in which Lovejoy died nobler than a mere question of taxes. James Otis thundered in this hall when the king did but touch his pocket. Imagine, if you can, his indignant eloquence, had England offered to put a gag upon his lips!

Again, in the Republican National Convention of 1860, the "organization" had planned to dodge the slavery question, and voted down an amendment offered by Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, which proposed to add to the party platform a quotation from the Declaration of Independence. At this point

George William Curtis sprang to Mr. Giddings's assistance, but his voice was immediately drowned by the uproar of his opponents. What followed is thus told by a reporter for the *Boston Herald:* —

> Folding his arms, he calmly faced the uproarious mass and waited. The spectacle of a man who wouldn't be put down at length so far amused the delegates that they stopped to look at him. "Gentlemen," rang out that musical voice in tones of calm intensity, "this is the convention of free speech, and I have been given the floor. I have only a few words to say to you, but I shall say them if I stand here until to-morrow morning." Again the tumult threatened the roof of the wigwam, and again the speaker waited. His pluck and the chairman's gavel soon gave him another chance. Skillfully changing the amendment, to make it in order, he spoke as with a tongue of fire in its support; daring the representatives of the party of freedom, meeting on the borders of the free prairies, in a hall dedicated to the advancement of liberty, to reject the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence affirming the equality and defining the rights of man. The speech fell like a spark upon tinder, and the amendment was adopted with a shout of enthusiasm more unanimous and deafening than the yell with which it had been previously rejected.

Rarely, however, does the young speaker have to encounter a hostile audience. The problem ordinarily is, how to conquer indifference; how to overcome that vast inertia which most audiences present; in other words, how to gain attention, which, in turn, may be secured by awakening interest. The prime requisite of an introduction, then, is that it be interesting. And how may interest be secured? It may

arise from the relation of the speaker to his audience, or from the relation of either the speaker or the audience to the subject. If the speaker is a distinguished man, or a well-known authority on his subject, these matters in themselves often incite interest in advance. With the average speaker, however, the awakening of interest must spring from the subject itself. Now, a subject may be interesting in itself either because of its inherent importance, or because of its importance as a theme of current discussion, or because of some associated event or circumstance; and one or all of these aspects may be touched upon in framing the introduction. Whenever possible, the opening words should be an allusion to the immediate occasion, or, it may be, to the words of a preceding speaker. This is apt to give an impression of freshness and spontaneity. With reference to forensic oratory — but no less applicable to all kinds of speeches — Quintilian says: —

> There is much attraction in an exordium which derives its substance from the pleading of our opponent, for this reason, that it does not appear to have been composed at home, but to be produced on the spot, and from the suggestion of the subject; it increases the reputation of the speaker for ability, from the facility which he exhibits, and, from wearing the appearance of a plain address, prompted by what has just been said, gains him the confidence of his audience; insomuch that, though the rest of his speech be written and carefully studied, the whole of it nevertheless seems almost entirely extemporaneous, as it is evident that its commencement received no preparation at all.

In any event, whatever the method of approach to one's subject, the introduction should be made so striking and compelling as to exact the attention of the most indifferent. Such was the plan followed by Webster and Curtis, for example, whose exordiums will repay careful study. Webster opened his second Bunker Hill oration as follows: —

. . . The Bunker Hill monument is finished. Here it stands. Fortunate in the high natural eminence on which it is placed, higher, infinitely higher in its objects and purposes, it rises over the land and over the sea. . . . It is itself the orator of the occasion. The powerful speaker stands motionless before you. It is a plain shaft. It bears no inscriptions, fronting to the rising sun, from which the future antiquary shall wipe the dust. Nor does the rising sun cause tones of music to issue from its summit. But at the rising of the sun, and at the setting of the sun; in the blaze of noonday, and beneath the milder effulgence of lunar light; it looks, it speaks, it acts, to the full comprehension of every American mind, and the awakening of glowing enthusiasm in every American heart. Its silent, but awful utterance; its deep pathos, as it brings to our contemplation the 17th of June, 1775, and the consequences which have resulted to us, to our country, and to the world, from the events of that day, and which we know must continue to rain influence on the destinies of mankind to the end of time; the elevation with which it raises us high above the ordinary feelings of life — surpass all that the study of the closet, or even the inspiration of genius, can produce. To-day it speaks to us. Its future auditories will be the successive generations of men, as they rise up before it and gather around it. Its speech will be of patriotism and courage; of civil and religious liberty; of free government; of the moral im-

provement and elevation of mankind; and of the immortal memory of those who, with heroic devotion, have sacrificed their lives for their country.

Similarly, in his oration at the centennial celebration of the Concord Fight, at Concord, Massachusetts, April 19, 1876, Curtis found his introduction in the immediate surroundings, and anticipated his theme by interpreting the meaning of the occasion: —

We are fortunate that we behold this day. The heavens bend benignly over; the earth blossoms with renewed life; and our hearts beat joyfully together with one emotion of filial gratitude and patriotic exultation. Citizens of a great, free, and prosperous country, we come hither to honor the men, our fathers, who, on this spot and upon this day, a hundred years ago, struck the first blow in the contest which made that country independent. Here, beneath the hills they trod, by the peaceful river on whose shores they dwelt, amid the fields that they sowed and reaped, proudly recalling their virtue and their valor, we come to tell their story, to try ourselves by their lofty standard to know if we are their worthy children, and, standing reverently where they stood and fought and died, to swear before God and each other, in the words of him upon whom in our day the spirit of the Revolutionary fathers visibly descended, that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.[1]

Speaking at the same place and upon a like occasion fourteen years later, Attorney General Bonaparte began as follows: —

To-day we look upon the rock whence we were hewn; we praise famous men and our fathers that begat us, because,

[1] *Orations and Addresses*, III, 87.

through what they did and suffered on this day, the American Nation was born. On the vigil of that great birthday the dwellers in this land were, in truth, "Englishmen of New England"; ere the next sunset they owned and assured to their children hopes and memories, thoughts of pride and sadness, in brief, a national consciousness, wherein Englishmen would have no part; on that evening Englishmen in New England were strangers and enemies. The story which gives meaning to our meeting is now an old story, but again it claims a hearing, for it tells us how and why we are Americans.

A striking introduction, outlining his subject in a few bold strokes, is the following by Henry Watterson, upon the occasion of a memorial address delivered before the Kentucky legislature, February 22, 1870:—

George Dennison Prentice was born in a little, old-fashioned New England cottage on the outskirts of the village of Preston, in Connecticut, December 18, 1802, which came that year, as I find by reference to a chronological table, on a Saturday, and was attended by a northeast gale that swept down the coast and over the country far and near. He died in a Kentucky farm-house, on the banks of the Ohio River, ten miles below the city of Louisville, just before the break of Saturday, January 22, 1870, while an untoward winter flood roared about the lonely spot. Between the tempest of his coming and the tempest of his going flowed a life-current many-toned and strong; often illuminated by splendid and varied achievements, and sometimes overcast by shadowy passions, struggles, and sorrows; but never pausing upon its journey during sixty-seven years, nor turning out of its course; a long life and a busy, joining in uncommon measure thought to action, and devoting both to the

practice of government, the conduct of parties, and the cultivation of belles-lettres. For this man was a daring partisan and a delightful poet; the distinguished advocate of a powerful political organization; a generous patron of arts; a constant friend to genius. In violent and lawless times he used a gun with hardly less effect than a pen, being regarded at one time as the best pistol shot in Kentucky. By turns a statesman, a wit, a poet, a man of the world, and always a journalist, he gave to the press of his country its most brilliant illustrations, and has left to the State and to his progeny by all odds the most unique, if not the largest, reputation ever achieved by a newspaper writer. You recognized these things, and the legislature of Tennessee recognized them, when his death was described in the resolutions of both assemblies as a "public bereavement." Such an honor was never paid the memory of any other journalist; and, although you have signalized yourselves no less than him, it is my duty, and I assure you it is a very great satisfaction, to thank you on behalf of the profession which owes this, among so many obligations, to the genius of Prentice.[1]

To hit upon some scene or event connected with the subject often forms the best sort of an introduction. Thus, Judge Francis M. Finch, in an address delivered on John Marshall Day, at Cornell University, February 4, 1901, began as follows: —

One hundred years ago this winter day a new Chief Justice took his seat upon the bench of the Federal Court at Washington. The court room of the time was little better than a cavern, situated in a basement dark and dreary at the best, without ornament or touch of grace or dignity. The new occupant of the Bench took his seat quietly, careless of formality or display, and at once addressed himself to the work

[1] *Compromises of Life*, 3–4.

before him. The few who looked on at this simple but grave assumption of duty saw nothing remarkable in the man himself, sitting there wrapped in the dusk of his gown. The head was not large; no massive dome of brow overhanging the eyes; small, rather, as crown of a tall and powerful form. Only in the brightness of the intensely black eyes, piercing and scintillant, shone a trace of the powerful soul, waiting in the dark background to make all men know and heed. . . .

He had fought through many battles of the Revolution. . . . But before the war closed he began the study of law, and so mixing law and war until peace was declared, and law became the dominant pursuit. Not always dominant, for that happened to him which so often happens, that from the beach where law borders on politics and the sands touch the water, he was lifted by an incoming surge, and swept into the troubled waves of party warfare, — scene where another fight was on between We the People and We the States — a fight to demand of him the matured strength and vigor of his life. . . . Our young lawyer was drawn into this conflict by virtue of his place as a member of the Virginia convention to which the proposed Constitution was submitted for ratification. He bore a leading part in a debate lasting twenty-five days, and the narrow majority by which Virginia accepted the Constitution was largely due to his powerful advocacy. . . . But not yet was his preparation complete. It seemed almost as if some Providence was training him like an athlete for a struggle vital to a free civilization. For he passed a term in Congress, mingling with statesmen and partisans, and studying the ways of each; then went to France on a diplomatic mission; next was made Secretary of War, and then Secretary of State, where the methods of diplomacy and the doctrines of international law became familiar to his thought; and finally and at last, the preparation ended, Chief Justice

of the Supreme Court, and the man whom we saw quietly taking his seat on the Bench. Let him sit there silent for a moment while we consider, as perhaps he was doing, the trouble behind him and the danger in his front, for both threatened the success of his judicial career.[1]

Again, the employment of an illustration or comparison may make a most happy introduction; as the following, by George William Curtis, in a commencement address at Brown University, June 20, 1882:—

There is a modern English picture which the genius of Hawthorne might have inspired. The painter calls it, "How they met themselves." A man and a woman, haggard and weary, wandering lost in a somber wood, suddenly meet the shadowy figures of a youth and a maid. Some mysterious fascination fixes the gaze and stills the hearts of the wanderers, and their amazement deepens into awe as they gradually recognize themselves as once they were; the soft bloom of youth upon their rounded cheeks, the dewy light of hope in their trusting eyes, exulting confidence in their springing step, themselves blithe and radiant with the glory of the dawn. To-day, and here, we meet ourselves. Not to these familiar scenes alone — yonder college green with its reverend traditions; the halcyon cove of the Seekonk, upon which the memory of Roger Williams broods like a bird of calm; the historic bay, beating forever with the muffled oars of Barton and of Abraham Whipple; here, the humming city of the living; there, the peaceful city of the dead; — not to these only and chiefly do we return, but to ourselves as we once were. It is not the smiling freshmen of the year, it is your own beardless and unwrinkled faces, that are looking from the windows of University Hall and Hope College. . . .

[1] Dillon, *John Marshall: Life, Character, and Judicial Services*, I, 387–392.

Happy the worn and weary man and woman in the picture could they have felt their older eyes still glistening with that earlier light, and their hearts yet beating with undiminished sympathy and aspiration. Happy we, brethren, whatever may have been achieved, whatever left undone, if, returning to the home of our earlier years, we bring with us the illimitable hope, the unchilled resolution, the inextinguishable faith of youth.[1]

In a Memorial Day address at Arlington Cemetery, President Garfield found an introduction in the following striking comparison: —

The view from this spot bears some resemblance to that which greets the eye at Rome. In sight of the Capitoline Hill, up and across the Tiber, and overlooking the city, is a hill, not rugged nor lofty, but known as the Vatican Mount. At the beginning of the Christian era an imperial circus stood on its summit. There gladiator slaves died for the sport of Rome, and wild beasts fought with wilder men. . . . Seen from the western slope of our Capitol, in direction, distance, and appearance, this spot is not unlike the Vatican Mount, though the river that flows at our feet is larger than a hundred Tibers. The soil beneath our feet was once watered by the tears of slaves, in whose hearts the sight of yonder proud Capitol awakened no pride and inspired no hope. But, thanks be to God, this arena of rebellion and slavery is a scene of violence no longer! This will be forever the sacred mountain of our capital. Here is our temple; its pavement is the sepulcher of heroic hearts; its dome, the bending heaven; its altar candles, the watching stars.

An apt quotation, used in the nature of a text for

[1] *Orations and Addresses*, I, 315.

an address, may also constitute a good introduction. This was a favorite method with Henry W. Grady. Thus, in his famous New South speech, in New York City in 1886, he began as follows: —

"There was a South of slavery and secession; that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom; that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill, at Tammany Hall in 1866, true then, and truer now, I shall make my text to-night.

And in his speech at the Dallas, Texas, State Fair, the opening words were: —

"Who saves his country, saves all things, and all things saved will bless him. Who lets his country die, lets all things die, and all things dying curse him." These words are graven on the statue of Benjamin H. Hill, in the city of Atlanta, and in their spirit I shall speak to you to-day.

Further examples might of course be adduced sufficient to fill many volumes. The foregoing, however, may prove suggestive. The lesson for the student is, that the introduction is quite as important as the other parts of the oration, and in many cases the most important part; and great orators, as the preceding examples show, have not failed to realize this.

From a study of the demands of audiences and of oratorical models, we may deduce the following as characteristic of a good introduction: —

(1) *Naturalness and ease.* That is, it should be really introductory, and hence suggested by the sub-

ject in hand. It is a common fault with introductions that they are far-fetched, taken from some commonplace topic having only a remote relation to the subject. It is therefore a good plan, generally, not to think of an introduction until the body of the oration has been mapped out, and not infrequently it is quite as well to write the introduction last.

(2) *Correctness and elegance.* By this is not meant that there should be such polished elegance and high-wrought expression as to call attention to the speaker's rhetoric rather than to his ideas. The language may be simple in diction, and usually should be, but withal it should be correct and finished. At the very beginning, before their attention and sympathies are fully enlisted, the hearers are apt to be most critical, and the incorrect or badly constructed sentence jars on their sensibilities in a manner in which it might not if occurring in the midst of the speech. There must be something to say, of course, but the clearness, correctness, and attractiveness with which it is said may in themselves go a long way toward engaging the hearers' attention.

(3) *Modesty.* This quality is desirable with reference both to what is said and to the way it is said. Anything in the speaker's manner that calls attention to himself rather than to his subject, any exhibition of vanity or self-conceit or self-admiration will impress an audience with some such feeling as one experiences when a handsome man is seen admiring himself before a glass. And, then, the language-expression

should comport with this idea of modesty — not unduly humble, but yet not boastful or over pretentious. The introduction should not promise too much. It should not be so grand and dazzling that it fails to accord with what follows. At the outset, it is true, the speaker should aim to strike the keynote of the subsequent discussion, but he should not in the beginning strike a higher note than he is able to sustain. As a general rule, the orator should not put forth all his strength in the beginning, but the oration should grow in strength as the discourse advances; *non fumum ex fulgore* — "not lavish at a blaze his fire, sudden to glare, and then in smoke expire."

(4) *Moderation.* An introduction should usually be carried on in a calm manner. This is a corollary of the preceding discussion. It may happen, of course, when one is replying to a preceding speaker, or when much feeling is already aroused over a subject, that what Cicero calls the *exordium ab abrupto* may be justified. A well-known example is that of Cicero himself in his first oration against Catiline. But we are concerned now with the more formal introduction which the demonstrative oration ordinarily requires. And in all such cases abruptness and vehemence are to be avoided. The speaker may feel strongly in regard to his subject, but he cannot at once unload these feelings on his audience. By gradual steps, and thus only, can he lead his hearers to feel as he does. It is a common fault with young speakers to exhibit such vehemence and passion at

the very outset that the unuttered query of the audience is, "Why all this fuss?" Emotions rise gradually, spend themselves, and then subside; and when passion is exhibited where it does not belong, it becomes largely ineffective when employed where it does belong, because, for one thing, of its very monotony. It is a good rule, then, to proceed with an introduction calmly, as a rational being addressing rational beings, and not to become vehement or violent before hearers can perceive anything to get excited about.

(5) *Proportion.* An introduction should be proportioned, both in length and in kind, to the discourse that is to follow. The matter, in the first place, should be in harmony with the address as a whole. It should strike the keynote of the oration, and so prepare the minds of the hearers for the subsequent development of the subject. The introduction, it should be remembered, is intended to be preparatory only; it should neither anticipate nor be out of harmony with the discussion. And in length, also, the law of proportion should be observed, — neither too brief nor too long. The length will, of course, vary with the length of the oration and with the subject. A very brief introduction is all that will be required in treating some subjects, while others may call for a somewhat extended narration, with a statement of the proposed method of treatment. But care should be exercised lest an introduction be unduly prolonged. "Is he never going to begin?" is a frequent criticism

of the speaker's effort. On the other hand, abruptness is to be avoided. The sum of the whole matter is thus stated by Bacon: "To use too many circumstances ere one comes to the matter is wearisome; to use none at all is blunt."

THE DISCUSSION

While the introduction and conclusion may sometimes be omitted, the discussion, or body of the oration, is of course indispensable. Herein the subject is developed, and the ideas presented should be capable of being readily grasped, should be arranged in an orderly manner, should all bear on a single theme, and lead naturally to the conclusion; in other words, the discussion should possess the qualities of clearness, sequence, unity, and climax. A fuller discussion of these qualities will be found in the next chapter.

THE CONCLUSION

The conclusion, or peroration, is in one sense the most important division of the oration: final impressions are apt to be the most lasting. It is in the conclusion that the work of persuasion is centered. The orator is now ready to apply his subject to his immediate audience, and he says, in effect, "This is my case: what will you do about it?" The purpose of the speech is now to be striven for: if a forensic

effort, the verdict of the jury; if a deliberative speech, the vote for or against a measure; if a sermon, the application of the text to the present hearers; and if a demonstrative oration, the truth to be established, the memory to be renewed and perpetuated, the new purpose to be instilled, the cause to be espoused, or the higher standard of thought and conduct to be established. The conclusion is the climax of the whole discourse, and should gather into itself all the concentrated thought and feeling that have previously been expressed and aroused. There are two ways of doing this: first, by a summary; and secondly, by an appeal. Either or both of these methods may be employed in a given case, the choice depending upon the subject and the occasion.

A summary in the peroration is often very serviceable. "Here it is appropriate," says Aristotle, "to repeat your points several times for the sake of intelligibility. In the exordium you should simply state the subject so as to elucidate the matter at issue, but in the peroration you should summarily mention the steps by which your case has been proved."[1] Even in a comparatively short address it is advantageous to refresh the memory of your hearers by recalling to their minds the main points of the discussion, to retrace rapidly the ground that has been covered. This is almost always necessary in an argumentative or expository discourse. In demonstrative oratory, the summary may take the form of reënforcement by

[1] Welldon, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, 302.

the employment of analogy or illustration, or by weaving in a brief recapitulation with a final appeal, Thus Phillips, in his eulogy of Daniel O'Connell, having discussed the various qualities suggested in his introduction, concludes as follows:—

> When I consider O'Connell's personal disinterestedness, — his rare, brave fidelity to every cause his principles covered, no matter how unpopular or how embarrassing to his main purpose, — that clear, far-reaching vision and true heart which, on most moral and political questions, set him so much ahead of his times; his eloquence, almost equally effective in the courts, in the senate, and before the masses; that sagacity which set at naught the malignant vigilance of the whole imperial bar, watching thirty years for a misstep; when I remember that he invented his tools, and then measure his limited means with his vast success, bearing in mind its nature; when I see the sobriety and moderation with which he used his measureless power, and the lofty, generous purpose of his whole life, — I am ready to affirm that he was, all things considered, the greatest man the Irish race ever produced.

When a summary is employed in the conclusion, it should be something more than a formal restatement of the topic-sentences of the discussion. There is danger of too much formality; the summary should be suggestive rather than reiterative. The aim should be, to concisely restate the main points in new form, to put the matter in a nutshell, to weld the whole together for a final impress.

The other office of the conclusion — the appeal to the emotions — is no less important. The summary

clinches the points previously presented, primarily for the purpose of securing conviction; and it now devolves upon the speaker to make a practical application by the use of persuasion, to give convictions an immediate impulse and direction. "I have shown you the facts and arguments in the case," he impliedly says, "now what shall we do about it?" Now the manner of making a concluding appeal may be as varied as the range of human emotions. So we can do no better than to subjoin a few examples of persuasive conclusions which will illustrate various methods as to matter and style. A good example of an appeal to conduct — the application of the subject to the immediate audience — is the following, from an oration on the Puritans by Dr. Richard S. Storrs: —

We must incorporate the Puritan spirit in our lives, and determine that no assault or pressure, of person or of government, of power or of law, shall ever induce us to violate Conscience. We cannot avoid these duties which are on us. The Past impels; the Future summons. God make us mediators between ages of planting, and ages of fruitage. Deep calleth for us unto deep; those early Colonies, these coming States! We are heirs to a great and costly legacy of valor and of virtue. The blood in our veins has flowed to us from men of unusual courage, foresight, faith. For us was the wise and heroic life of those from whom the Pilgrims came, watched over by their love, and followed by their prayers. For us was the large moderation of Winthrop, and his sterling sagacity; for us, the rugged energy of Dudley; the piety of Carver, Bradford, Wilson; for us, the beautiful grace of Lady Johnson; for us, the spirit that looked death in the face from the clear, bright brow of

Henry Vane! A cloud of witnesses gathers around us, as we stand here. Those thousand graves, among distant hills, should be each one the spring of an influence shooting up in our hearts with irrepressible energy. And they commit us, each one who has sprung from the breast of New England, to the vital appropriation, and the wide propagation, of those principles and that spirit which belonged to the Fathers.[1]

In an action by a wife to recover damages for the alienation of her husband's affections, her attorney closed his plea to the jury with the use of the following illustration: —

The other day at a friend's house I saw a beautifully striking picture. The artist had represented a lamb as having become separated from the shepherd's flock, and caught among the thorns of a dense thicket. Every effort it made to extricate itself only resulted in entangling it still more and in further lacerating its flesh. But in the distance could be seen the shepherd of the flock, who was coming to the rescue.

It seems to me, gentlemen, that this is a good representation of this case. The lamb in the picture is my unfortunate client; she strayed, it is true, from her true course; but when she would return to him whose love had been alienated, all the thorns of envy and of malice which these defendants could devise were used to torment her and prevent her from returning to those with whom she naturally and rightfully belonged. And you, gentlemen of the jury, are to be the good shepherd, who will rescue her from these pitiless persecutors and restore her to her own.

The following is condensed from the peroration of

[1] *New England Society Orations*, II, 368.

William A. Beach, on behalf of Mr. Tilton, in the famous Beecher-Tilton trial: —

My argument now, gentlemen, is finished. We have communed together a long time upon great themes, lifting us above the littleness of common controversy. Truth, morality, religion, divine and human law, all the great topics which stir the enthusiasm of our nature, have mingled with our deliberations. We have stood together before this community animated by a common object, seeking after the right in honest sincerity. The distempered plea of turbulent passions has been against the altar at which we serve. The boisterous interests and sympathies of an interested people have tried the firm foundation of this temple, but the spirit of justice sees nothing of the tumult, hears nothing of the uproar. Calm and confident, she leans trustingly upon a juror's oath. Your consciences uphold the shaking temple and the tottering altar. If they weaken and fail, if the strong pillars of honesty and truth give way, temple and altar and God sink to a common ruin. The struggle this day is between the law and a great character and a great Church. If the latter triumph, and the law is trodden down, woe unto him who calls evil good and good evil. Gentlemen, I commit this case to you in the sublime language of the great orator who speaks to you from his grave at Marshfield: —

"With consciences satisfied with the discharge of duty, no consequences can harm you. There is no evil that we cannot either face or fly from, but the consciousness of duty disregarded. A sense of duty pursues us ever. It is omnipresent, like the Deity. If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, duty performed, or duty violated, is still with us, for our happiness or our misery. If we say the darkness shall cover us, in the darkness as in the light our obligations

are yet with us. We cannot escape their power, nor fly from their presence. They are with us in this life, will be with us at its close; and in that scene of inconceivable solemnity, which lies yet farther onward, we shall still find ourselves surrounded by the consciousness of duty, to pain us wherever it has been violated, and to console us so far as God may have given us grace to perform it."

An impassioned peroration is the following from a speech by Senator Albert J. Beveridge on "The March of the Flag," delivered at Indianapolis in 1898: —

Fellow Americans, we are God's chosen people. Yonder at Bunker Hill and Yorktown His providence was above us. At New Orleans and on ensanguined seas His hand sustained us. Abraham Lincoln was His minister, and His was the altar of freedom the boys in blue set on a hundred battlefields. His power directed Dewey in the East, and delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands on liberty's natal day, as He delivered the elder Armada into the hands of our English sires two centuries ago. His great purposes are revealed in the progress of the flag, which surpasses the intentions of congresses and cabinets, and leads us like a holier pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night into situations unforeseen by finite wisdom, and duties unexpected by the unprophetic heart of selfishness. We cannot fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We cannot retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization. For liberty and civilization and God's promise fulfilled, the flag must henceforth be the symbol and the sign to all mankind — the flag! —

"Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
By angel hands to valor given,
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all their hues were born in heaven!
Forever wave that standard sheet,
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And freedom's banner streaming o'er us!"

A concluding appeal to a wide range of motives is found in the close of Henry W. Grady's speech at Boston, in 1889, before the Bay State Club: —

We bring to you, from hearts that yearn for your confidence and for your love, the message of fellowship from our homes. This message comes from consecrated ground. The fields in which I played were the battlefields of this republic, hallowed to you with the blood of your soldiers who died in victory, and doubly sacred to us with the blood of ours who died undaunted in defeat. All around my home are set the mountains and hills down which the gray flag fluttered to defeat, and through which American soldiers from either side charged like demigods; and I do not think I could bring you a false message from those old hills and those sacred fields — witnesses twenty years ago, in their red desolation, of the deathless valor of American arms and the quenchless bravery of American hearts, and in their white peace and tranquillity to-day of the imperishable Union of the American states and the indestructible brotherhood of the American people.

It is likely that I will not again see Bostonians assembled together. I therefore want to take this occasion to thank you, and my excellent friends of last night and those friends who accompanied us this morning, for all that you have done for us since we have been in your city, and to say that whenever any of you come South just speak your name, and

remember that Boston or Massachusetts is the watchword, and we will meet you at the gates.

"The monarch may forget the crown
That on his head so late hath been;
The bridegroom may forget the bride
Was made his own but yester e'en;
The mother may forget the babe
That smiled so sweetly on her knee;
But forget thee will I ne'er, Glencairn,
And all that thou hast done for me."[1]

The leading characteristics of a good conclusion are: (1) it should be an echo of the argument or thought of the oration as a whole; (2) it should be as strong and impelling as possible; and (3) it should not be too long.

(1) To say that the conclusion should echo the thought as a whole is only to say that it should follow the discussion in natural sequence and climax. It should therefore always be retrospective, conforming to the rule which prevents a debater from introducing new matter in his rebuttal. The time has passed for the presentation of new ideas, but the work now is to secure a cumulative effect by welding together and impressing the ideas previously discussed. The impression to be conveyed, the end to be accomplished — this should always be the burden of the conclusion. The final words should epitomize the main points, clinch the argument, and thus reënforce and apply the underlying idea or purpose of the oration as a whole.

[1] *Oratory of the South*, 292–293.

(2) The conclusion should normally be the most forcible part of a speech. In other words, it should obey the law of climax. A certain measure of coldness and tameness may be overlooked in the discussion, but they are fatal in the conclusion. The final words must be earnest, positive, convincing, and charged with strong feeling. While this is true, care should be exercised that the final appeal observes the requirements of fitness and good taste. It must be in harmony with what the discussion warrants. An overpassionate peroration following a matter-of-fact argument is incongruous; and yet the final words should always be as strong and impelling as possible.

(3) Finally, the conclusion should never be unduly prolonged. The close of any speech is a place of peril, and one of its highest excellencies is the evidence that the speaker knows when to stop. How often do we hear a speech ruined by a diffuse, long-drawn-out, tedious conclusion. Few things are more exasperating to hearers than to have the speaker, at the point where every one is expecting him to stop, begin all over again, as it were, or add a "lastly" or a "single remark in closing." Just as it is fatal to an introduction for the hearers to ask, "Is he never going to begin?" it is likewise fatal to a conclusion for them to ask, "Is he never going to end?" As a general rule, the conclusion should be as brief as possible, the gist of the whole oration being packed into a few words. The argument or plea proper has been presented, and if at this point

the speaker has not attained his object, — except as it may be accentuated by a few parting words, — he may be sure that his cause will not be strengthened, but only weakened, by multiplying words.

In general, then, the conclusion should be comprehensively suggestive of the entire speech. Whenever the subject lends itself to such a treatment, it should be crowded with strong and stirring words appealing to lofty motives. Finally, it should be relatively brief, stopping when flood tide is reached: it is not a bad plan to stop when the hearers want to hear more.

EXERCISES

1. Assign subjects (see Appendix B) to different members or sections of the class, and let each prepare, either in outline or in full, a proposed introduction. Criticise these productions with the class.

2. Suppose a classmate and close friend has been charged with cheating on examination. Suppose you personally know that the circumstances (to be specified) do not justify the accusation. Prepare an introduction to a plea in his defense to be delivered, first, before the faculty. Now suppose he is to be tried by the whole student body: how would you revise your first introduction?

3. Point out the merits in the following introductions: —

(*a*) In his admirable series of studies of twentieth-century problems, Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out that we are a nation of pioneers. Our country has been populated by pioneers, and therefore it has in it more energy, more enterprise, more expansive power, than any other in the wide world. You whom I am now addressing stand, for the most part, but one generation removed from these pioneers. You are typical Americans, for you have done the great, the typical work of our American life. In making homes and carving out careers for yourselves and your children you have built up this state; throughout our history the success of the home-maker has been but another name for the up-

building of the nation. The men who, with ax in the forest and pick in the mountains and plow on the prairies, pushed to completion the dominion of our people over the American wilderness have given the definite shape to our nation. They have shown the qualities of daring, endurance, and far-sightedness, of eager desire for victory and stubborn refusal to accept defeat, which go to make up the essential manliness of the American character. Above all, they have recognized in practical form the fundamental law of success in American life — the law of worthy work, the law of high, resolute endeavor. . . . Surely, in speaking to the sons of men who actually did the rough and hard and infinitely glorious work of making the great Northwest what it now is, I need hardly insist upon the righteousness of this doctrine.

— ROOSEVELT, *At the State Fair of Minnesota, 1901.*

(*b*) A figure heroic, majestical, supereminent, venerable, and venerated, holding an unchallenged primacy in our legal, juridical, and constitutional history, is that of John Marshall. When we refer to him in the Supreme Court, or when elsewhere we refer to that court, it is not necessary to name Marshall — we distinguish him by the title of "The Great Chief Justice." He has no parallel but himself, and, like the Saladin in Dante's vivid picture of the immortals, he stands by himself apart. Pinkney's saying is well known — that Marshall was born to be Chief Justice of any country in which Providence should cast his lot; and he came to his own one hundred years ago this day, when, at the first term of the Supreme Court ever held in the new Federal city of Washington, he put on his robes of office, took the oath to support the Constitution (and well he kept it), and assumed his place at the head of a tribunal which, in its short existence of eleven years, had already had four Chief Justices. What a wonderful transformation! He found the place one that no great lawyer coveted; he left it, after a continuous service of thirty-four years, the most commanding, the most exalted, the most illustrious judicial office the world has ever seen. These are not words of professional enthusiasm or patriotic zeal, but are (as I trust this address will show) words of truth and soberness.

— JOHN F. DILLON, *A Commemorative Address on Chief Justice Marshall, 1901.*

(*c*) This is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, fellow-citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the arches of this hall. These walls, which were consecrated so long ago to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles and rung with the shouts of her earliest victories, proclaim now that distinguished friends and champions of that great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which flow and the honors that are paid when the founders of the republic die, give hope that the republic itself may be immortal. It is fit that by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and by eulogy, we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings early given and long continued, through their agency, to our favored country.

— WEBSTER, *Oration on Adams and Jefferson.*

(*d*) It is sunset at Jolo and Zamboango, and dawn on New England's rugged coast. The last glance of the god of day is reflected from the bayonet of the lonely sentinel who walks his beat on the uttermost island of that distant archipelago. The "rosy blush of incense-breathing morn" glorifies these historical waters, and the rushing floods of his oncoming light bathe the marble of that shaft in Washington which commemorates a nation's love for the father of his country. Throughout his diurnal progress, if progressive at all, that selfsame orb has rejoiced that not for a moment has he been able to lose sight of the stars and stripes. In all his journey, there was nothing fairer or more enchanting than that city founded by the argonauts of '49, whose glories have been painted by the fascinating narrative of Stevenson, the witching fancy of Bret Harte. Brilliant, joyous, daring San Francisco, combining the enchantment of that city by the Seine, typical of all that is charming in the genius and love of beauty of the French people, with oriental mysteries of Bagdad in the palmy days of Haroun-al-Raschid. There one evening but a short time ago, as the sun sank behind the Farallones, it stood instinct with life, energy, hope, and such happiness as is accorded to man. With the succeeding dawn its crumbling buildings were death traps. Of its people many were dead, thousands in agony and despair, and, more terrible than all, was

the glare and roar of the oncoming conflagration. A quarter of a million of men, women, and children shiver on the hills hard by. The railroads have sunken into the earth, the earthquake has riven the water pipes which bring the life-giving supply. There, too, were demons in human form. Such creatures, in the presence of helpless and suffering innocence, relapse to the cruelty, the merciless outrage of the savage. Has hope taken flight of earth? Ah, no, there is yet hope. Across the continent there is one whose prompt soul is instinct with love and pity for his fellow-men. He is in the White House. The dreadful story comes. He takes counsel of his courage. Back flashes to a man after his own heart, the gallant Funston: "Take instant charge, declare martial law, suppress disorder, protect the people, use every arm of the service ashore and every ship upon the waters." Swift appeal is made to Congress. Nothing loath, that noble body throws open the treasury and disburses millions to our suffering countrymen. And before the fires are extinguished and the subterranean forces of nature cease to mutter, order reigns in San Francisco, and the heart of a noble people, inspired by the example of their President for their suffering brethren, pour out their treasures like water. And yet, in vain would a certain school of constructionists look for any word or syllable of the Constitution which justifies this or any similar action on the part of the President. — JUDGE EMORY SPEER, *An Address delivered at Yale University in 1906 on "The Initiative of the President."*

4. In like manner analyze the following perorations: —

(*a*) We have indulged in gratifying recollections of the past, in the prosperity and pleasures of the present, and in high hopes for the future. But let us remember that we have duties and obligations to perform corresponding to the blessings which we enjoy. Let us remember the trust, the sacred trust, attaching to the rich inheritance which we have received from our fathers. Let us feel our personal responsibility to the full extent of our power and influence, for the preservation of the principles of civil and religious liberty. And let us remember that it is only religion and morals, and knowledge, that can make men respectable and happy, under any form of government. Let us hold fast

the great truth, that communities are responsible as well as individuals; that no government is respectable which is not just; that without unspotted purity of public faith, without sacred public principle, fidelity, and honor, no mere forms of government, no machinery of laws, can give dignity to political society. In our day and generation, let us seek to raise and improve the moral sentiment, so that we may look, not for a degraded, but for an elevated and improved future. And when both we and our children shall have been consigned to the house appointed for all living, may love of country, and pride of country, glow with equal fervor among those to whom our names and our blood shall have descended!

And then, when honored and decrepit age shall lean against the base of this monument, and troops of ingenuous youth shall be gathered around it, and when the one shall speak to the other of its objects, the purposes of its construction, and the great and glorious events with which it is connected, then shall rise from every youthful breast the ejaculation, "Thank God, I — I also — am an American!" — WEBSTER, *Second Bunker Hill Oration*.

(*b*) I can conceive a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past — a destiny which meets the responsibilities of to-day and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a Republic resting securely upon the foundation stone quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth. . . . Behold a Republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulates all to earnest endeavor, and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury — a Republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a Republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments — a Republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a Republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength, and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of a universal brotherhood — a Republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example, and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a Republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme factor in the world's progress and

the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes — a Republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." — BRYAN, *in his reply to the Notification Committee, Campaign of 1900.*

(*c*) No royal governor, indeed, sits in yon stately capital, no hostile fleet for many a year has vexed the waters of our coasts, nor is any army but our own ever likely to tread our soil. Not such are our enemies to-day. They do not come, proudly stepping to the drumbeat, with bayonets flashing in the morning sun. But wherever party spirit shall strain the ancient guaranties of freedom; or bigotry and ignorance shall lay their fatal hands on education; or the arrogance of caste shall strike at equal rights; or corruption shall poison the very springs of national life, — there, Minute Men of Liberty, are your Lexington Green and Concord Bridge. And as you love your country and your kind, and would have your children rise up and call you blessed, spare not the enemy. Over the hills, out of the earth, down from the clouds, pour in resistless might. Fire from every rock and tree, from door and window, from hearthstone and chamber. Hang upon his flank from morn till sunset, and so, through a land blazing with holy indignation, hurl the hordes of ignorance and corruption and injustice back, — back in utter defeat and ruin. — CURTIS, *Concord Oration.*

(*d*) On the morning of Saturday, July 2, 1881, President Garfield was a contented and happy man — not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. And surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no premonition of danger clouded his sky. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its

hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders: on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars.

Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning. — BLAINE.

(*e*) It was on Decoration Day in the city of New York, the last one he ever saw on earth. That morning the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, the veterans in that vicinity, arose earlier than was their wont. They seemed to spend more time that morning in unfurling the old battle flags, in burnishing the medals of honor which decorated their breasts, for on that day they had determined to march by the house of their dying commander to give him a last marching salute. In the streets the columns were forming; inside the house, on that bed from which he was never to rise again, lay the stricken chief. The hand which had seized the surrendered swords of countless thousands could scarcely return the pressure of the friendly grasp. The voice which had cheered on to triumphant victory the legions of America's manhood could no longer call for the cooling draught which slaked the thirst of a fevered tongue; and prostrate on that bed of anguish lay the form which in the New World had ridden at the head of conquering columns, which in the Old World had been deemed worthy to stand with head covered and feet sandaled in the presence of princes, kings, and emperors. Now his ear caught the sound of martial music. Bands were playing the same strains which had mingled with the echoes of his guns at Vicksburg, the same quicksteps to which his men had sped in hot haste in pursuit of Lee through

Virginia. And then came the heavy, measured steps of moving columns, a step which can be acquired only by years of service in the field. He recognized it all now. It was the tread of his old veterans. With his little remaining strength he arose and dragged himself to the window. As he gazed upon those battle flags dipping to him in salute, those precious standards bullet-riddled, battle-stained, but remnants of their former selves, with scarcely enough left of them on which to print the names of the battles they had seen, his eyes once more kindled with the flames which had lighted them at Shiloh, on the heights of Chattanooga, amid the glories of Appomattox; and as those war-scarred veterans looked with uncovered heads and upturned faces for the last time upon the pallid features of their old chief, cheeks which had been bronzed by Southern suns and begrimed with powder were bathed in tears of manly grief. Soon they saw rising the hand which had so often pointed out to them the path of victory. He raised it slowly and painfully to his head in recognition of their salutations. The last of the columns had passed, the hand fell heavily by his side. It was his last military salute.

— HORACE PORTER, *Eulogy of Grant.*[1]

(*f*) If what I have said has impressed you, I beg of you to let the impression deepen rather than pass away, for I know and you know that this issue goes deeper than words can go. It involves thousands of homes redeemed from want and desolation; it involves thousands of hearts now rejoicing that late were breaking; it involves the fate of this tremendous experiment that Atlanta must settle for the American people. Against it there is nothing but the whim of personal liberty. Your city has prospered under prohibition as it has never prospered before. If you are a merchant or a manufacturer, your books will tell you this. You know that you have prospered this year in your business; ask your neighbor of his business. Look abroad about you on these bustling streets, on these busy stores, on these shops and factories in which the fires scarcely ever die, and in which the workmen are never idle, and then vote in the light of reason and of conscience, and however you vote, may God bless

[1] *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, 263–264.

you, and the city you love so well. — GRADY, *On Prohibition in Atlanta*, 1887.

(*g*) These, then, are some of the incidents in her history, some of her hopes and beliefs, briefly sketched, of course, in an address which permits but of little more than a passing allusion. Imperfectly and briefly presented as they have been, however, there is enough in them to stir the blood, and make us all feel happier and prouder that we are sons of the land of Mary. Yes, men of Maryland, you who are here from the slopes of the Alleganies or the Blue Ranges of the North and South Mountain; you who have come from the City of Monuments, one of which records in imperishable marble the devoted valor of her patriotic sons who made this anniversary day illustrious in her annals; you who have come from the lowlands, where the Atlantic breaks in thundering surge, or the bay, in softer key, laps the sandy beach of either shore; and all you sons of Maryland who left the old roof-tree to follow the immigrant's trail through prairie and forest, and finally to hew out for yourselves a home in the far West — you and your children, wherever you come from, wherever you go, let the proud fame of your old state, associated with such traditions as these, cling to you like a mother's blessing, and mingle in memory forever! — JOHN V. L. FINDLAY, "*Maryland Day*" *Address at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago*, 1893.

CHAPTER IV

STYLE IN ORAL DISCOURSE

Style Generally. — Style is the mode of expression in writing and speaking — the manner in which thought is expressed. Beyond the bare expression of thought with grammatical correctness, it may be uttered in various ways, as, feebly or forcibly, awkwardly or elegantly, plainly or figuratively, concisely or diffusely. The consideration of these different modes of expression involves the problem of style.

Most treatises on rhetoric quote with approval the saying of Buffon, "Style is the man himself." That is, it reflects the writer's or speaker's individuality. So, if one expresses his thoughts in a manner which conveys no impression of individuality, he has, as we say, a colorless style — no style. Without doubt one's style should express the man himself, but does it? Not always, by any means. Teachers of English composition know only too well that the style of the average student, in his earlier efforts in essay writing, represents a wide departure from his individual manner of expression. This same tendency is yet more noticeable in oral discourse; non-individuality is the bane of school and college oratory. If a student is

called upon to write an oration, he is prone to attempt something big. The seeming magnitude of the task leads him to seek ways of effecting conviction and persuasion as different from his ordinary method as affectation is different from genuineness. His style, far from being the man himself, represents a conglomerate composite of many men, with no individuality whatever; and his composition dazzles, blinds, and tires by its floridness, turgidity, and bombast. The tendency is thus illustrated by Henry Ward Beecher in a speech delivered in London in 1886: —

> William has been to school for over a year, and his teacher says to him one day, "Now, William, I am afraid your father will think that I am not doing well by you; you must write a composition — you must send your father a good composition to show what you are doing." Well, William never did write a composition, and he does not know how. "Oh, write about something that you do know about — write about your father's farm," and so, being goaded to his task, William says: "A cow is a useful animal. A cow has four legs and two horns. A cow gives good milk. I love good milk. — WILLIAM BRADSHAW." The master looks over his shoulder and says: "Pooh! your father will think you are a cow. Here, give me the composition, I'll fix it." So he takes it home and fixes it. Here it reads: "When the sun casts off the dusky garments of the night, and appearing o'er the orient hills, sips the dewdrops pendent from every leaf, the milkmaid goes afield chanting her matin songs," and so on, and so on.[1]

The first of these styles is of course crude, but the second is worse — it is false. And it is this quality

[1] Reed, *Modern Eloquence*, IV, 65.

of falseness, as is pointed out by Mr. Edwin Whipple in his excellent essay on "Daniel Webster as a Master of English Style," that characterizes the student's English composition in general, and oratorical composition in particular. Hence the term "sophomoric" is used to describe speeches that are full of emotion which the speaker does not feel, of far-fetched illustrations which have no vital relation to the thought or to the speaker's experience, and of big words which mean nothing but an attempt to imitate some speaker who has perhaps earned the right to use such words. The student afflicted with this "sophomoric" style is like Tom Birch, of whom Dr. Johnson said, "He is brisk as a bee in conversation; but no sooner does he take pen in hand than it becomes a torpedo to him, and benumbs all his faculties."

What, then, is the best oratorical style? In an absolute sense, there is no best style; it is always relative to the individual. Then what, shall we say, is the best style for each individual speaker? Obviously, that manner of expressing himself which he would use in earnest conversation. The style which he would naturally use in persuading an individual of some truth is plainly the most effective style for persuading a collection of individuals — an audience. Thus we say that a good oration *speaks* as we read it. Some one has pointed out that the style of speaking of Wendell Phillips was remarkably conversational — "natural" — largely because his sentences had the simplicity, variety, and directness of ordinary conver-

sation. We may therefore lay this down as a basic principle: *The best oratorical style for a given individual is that of his best conversation.* And if the student, in composing an oration, will proceed on this principle, it will go a long way toward correcting many common faults of style.

Not that this dictum at once solves the problem of the most effective expression. When we say "best conversation," the word "best" should be emphasized, for one's habitual conversational style is often a far cry from his best. Moreover, by reason of the intensified feeling engendered by contact with a crowd, the cumulative force that comes from speaking without interruption or reply, the natural tendency of the real orator to outdo even himself, — these and other matters incident to public speech not infrequently lead the orator to express himself in a style far above that of even his best conversation. Says Matthew Arnold, "Style, in my sense of the word, is a peculiar recasting and heightening, under a certain spiritual excitement, a certain pressure of emotion, of what a man has to say, in such a manner as to add dignity and distinction to it." And another has said, "That style alone is the best which is in the first place unobtrusive, in the second which does in the long run convey an impression of individuality, in the third place of an individuality *high above the commonplace.*" But while one's style must rise above the commonplace, the speaker must ground himself on his best conversation. Only by doing this can he hope to

rise to higher forms. "Eloquence," says Emerson, "must be grounded on the plainest narrative. Afterwards it may warm itself until it exhales symbols of every kind and color, and speaks only through the most poetic forms; but, first and last, it must still be at bottom a biblical statement of fact." "What the Americans might learn from the best English speakers is, the impressiveness of rhetorical restraint, and the prudence of keeping at a lower flight when the matter of the speech does not justify a soaring style."[1] There are, of course, the two extremes of style, the overplain and the overwrought — dry bones on the one hand, and frothy rhetoric on the other. Both extremes are faults. But in any event, be it said again, the speaker must express his ideas in the manner of direct, strong talk. If written prose, intended primarily for a reader, be "the literary evolution of conversation,"[2] how much more essential is it that spoken discourse, where speaker and hearer are face to face, be based upon one's conversational style.

The Oratorical *vs.* The Essay Style. — The rhetoric of oratory requires a style of its own. The speaker must so present his ideas as to attract and hold the attention of his hearers; he must arouse their feelings to accord with his own; he must make his style of presentation tell in persuading them of his own ideas and beliefs. And this implies that "a certain latitude must be conceded to oral, which is denied to written, com-

[1] Powers, *The Making of an Orator*, 313.
[2] Earle, *English Prose*, 171.

position, and that the very effectiveness and success of a speech may be due to its offenses against the strict canons of literary criticism." To be sure, the ideal oratorical style, as has previously been observed, results in a discourse that both speaks well and reads well, but this result is not always — or necessarily — attained. In any event, effective oratory requires certain distinguishing characteristics of style which the intending speaker must learn to appreciate and practice. In noting the distinctive qualities of style in oratory let us consider separately (although in actual practice appeals to reason and to feeling are inseparable) some of the ways, first, of securing conviction, and, secondly, of effecting persuasion.

CONVICTION

In the presentation of ideas addressed primarily to the understanding, an oral address, of course, requires all the qualities of style that are essential in an essay. In oral discourse, however, the following rhetorical qualities need to be specially stressed: clearness, sequence, unity, and emphasis.

Clearness. — While the element of clearness is a prime requisite in all composition, it is the *sine qua non* in oratory. In a recent article in *The Saturday Evening Post*, Senator Beveridge goes so far as to thus advise the intending public speaker: "As to style, seek only to be clear; nothing else is important." While the lack of ready comprehensibility in

written discourse is undesirable, in oral discourse it is fatal. The reason is obvious. The hearer, as distinguished from the reader, must get the thought as the speaker proceeds, or not at all. If the sense is not immediately clear to a reader, he can pause and think it out, or go back and review. Manifestly this is impossible in listening to a speech. Hence the discourse must be so framed that the mind of the hearer can move on at least as fast as that of the speaker. The great principle of securing economy of attention, as enunciated by Spencer in his *Philosophy of Style*, must be scrupulously observed by a speaker.

In order to insure clearness, oratory requires, as a general rule, the use of short, everyday words, whose meaning will be readily grasped, and short sentences, also, avoiding all involved constructions that include modifying and qualifying clauses. By this is not meant the disconnected, "chippy" style affected by some writers and speakers. The use of the periodic sentence is frequently desirable, but the steps by which the conclusion is reached must be plainly apparent. To recur to our fundamental principle, the speaker's diction and sentences should conform to his conversational style.

Again, clearness in oral discourse demands that there be no undue compression or conciseness. The relative fullness or conciseness with which a thing is said is, of course, always relative to the audience addressed. But the average audience cannot be fed on

intellectual pemmican, and it is better to err on the side of over fullness than over conciseness. Hence it is that, while thought once clearly stated might suffice in an essay, the same thought in a speech might need to be restated, or amplified, or illustrated, or otherwise reënforced. Thus, in telling His parables to the common people, the fullness of statement employed by the Saviour, and that, too, in exactly the same words, is especially noticeable: —

> Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it.[1]

Sequence. — When facts are stated clearly, and in their proper order, they are said to possess logical sequence; and this is peculiarly essential in oratory. One idea must naturally grow out of and follow another. There must be not only logical coherence, but also logical progress. In the grand divisions of the discourse the introduction must prepare for the discussion, and the discussion for the conclusion. In the paragraph structure there should be no abrupt transitions. One topic should naturally and plainly

[1] Matthew vii. 24–27.

follow another. And a hearer, as distinguished from a reader, often needs to be told, by a brief summary or explanation, just how a given idea grows out of that preceding. The hearer must be enabled to follow you, and certainly the best means to that end is to arrange your ideas in such order as is easy to follow.

Unity. — Another quality of style desirable in written composition, unity, is absolutely indispensable in all effective oratory. The best public speech always comprehends the idea of some subject for persuasion. The principle of unity demands that an oration as a whole shall show some definite, underlying purpose, and that every part of the discourse shall contribute to the accomplishment of such purpose. O'Connell once said that an orator should always know what he is aiming at, for when a man aims at nothing, he is almost sure to hit it. There is, to be sure, much so-called oratory which is evidently more or less aimless, but any speech that is worth while must not only have a purpose behind it, but that purpose must be revealed by making some definite impress upon the auditors' minds. If the hearers are impelled to ask, "What was all this about?" or, "That speech sounded well, but what was he driving at?" we may know that it was a poor effort. Now, just how the law of unity is to find application in a given discourse depends upon the subject and the method of treatment. But almost any subject that lends itself to persuasion will suggest one, two, or three main points, say, which

the speaker wishes to make. Then about each point, as a magnet, will be gathered the ideas belonging to it, all irrelevant and incongruous matter being rigorously excluded. For a short address, the best plan is to have the discourse center, whenever possible, in a single controlling idea. An excellent example is found in the following speech by James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, delivered before the Industrial Peace Conference at San Francisco, July 25, 1907: —

Industrial peace has for its foundation obedience to law, and that is applicable everywhere throughout the industrial world. We often have it said that the forces in industry are conflicting forces; that capital and labor are opponents. I do not believe it. Capital and labor must work together if the best for both is to be obtained. It is true there will be differences between labor and capital, but those differences of opinion will never result in conflict if there be always in the minds of both parties one paramount idea, that there can be no peace unless there be a recognition of an obedience of the law of the land.

If the leader of capital, if the man who has much and has invested much, if he who employs many and seeks to employ more, if he who has manufactured much and seeks to manufacture more, fails to recognize that the obligation upon his shoulders is to obey the law in every respect, that man then becomes a menace to industrial peace. And this obedience to law must not be an obedience by the lip alone. It must be an obedience in every act of the life of men and women. On the other hand, if your laborer seeks to labor more, seeks to gain more for his labor, seeks to improve the conditions surrounding his labor, he can only derive those

benefits and avoid conflicts by an equal recognition and obedience to law.

When one recognizes that such obedience is the foundation of society, when one recognizes that the duty upon each shoulder is the duty to recognize his obligations toward his fellow-man, then we have the opportunity for the promotion of industrial peace. The very moment any one in a community, whether he be the employer or the employed, gets away from the recognition of law, and seeks by methods outside the law to obtain that which he wishes, that which he strives for, then that individual immediately does away with the possibility of industrial peace and drives the community in which he lives into industrial war.

Obedience to law is as equally an obligation upon the part of the law maker and of the law enforcer as it is upon the man who is subject to the law. The man in high public office must recognize his obligation to obey the law if he is to be a promoter of industrial peace. He must recognize that the high responsibilities placed upon his shoulder require of him such rectitude of conduct, such high character, such carefulness in individual action, that he shall always enforce the law, for the purpose of benefiting, not one side of the community, one side of the conflict, but for the purpose of equally enforcing the law to the end that peace may come and industrial conflict may be avoided. It is by this universal recognition of obligation and of duty and of obedience that we shall be able to work out these problems that we are facing now in the industrial world.

The combination of capital was inevitable, and was right, and the combination of labor is equally inevitable and equally right. The individual advances only by coöperation with his fellow-individual. He derives therefrom much benefit and the opportunity for greater individual advancement. But when we strive together as individuals, whether

it be in the form of association, of combination, or of a corporation, we must recognize that we have obligations upon our shoulders to give to every other person the same right that we claim for ourselves.

I may choose to operate as a corporation; you may choose to operate as a partnership or as an individual: I, as a corporation, in the conduct of my business, am guilty of violation of law if I take such action as to prevent you as an individual from conducting as you wish, the same business, so long as you obey the law.

So it is with labor. If I, as an individual, desire to combine and associate myself with other co-laborers, I have a right to do so; and so long as I do not interfere with you, who may desire to operate as an individual, there is no difficulty; but the very moment either one attempts to impose upon the other that his idea is right, then we have difficulties. It is the recognition again of the obligation upon the shoulder of each that he must so conduct himself as not to interfere with the rights of his associate or his neighbor. If each of us performs our obligation to our family, and then to the community in which we live, to our state and to our nation, we need have no question but that the right which we claim for ourselves will follow of necessity.

And so it is that this great country of ours should not be divided industrially as between those who employ and those who are employed. There is no real, proper, and right division between labor and capital. But there is a division, and a division which a few people here by this conference are endeavoring to make less; there is a division between both the capitalist and the laborer who seek to divide the community along the lines between those who violate law and those who obey law. A man who violates law, no matter who he is, whether he be an individual, a representative, a manager, a leader, that man is a menace to society. The

man who obeys law is he who in the end by coöperation, by conference, by reasonable suggestion and reasonable meeting, — as you are meeting here to-day, — will be of benefit to society and will in the end promote industrial peace. So, permit me to end as I began, by saying that the foundation of industrial peace is obedience to law.

Emphasis. — The law of emphasis coincides with that of unity in keeping uppermost in mind the purpose of a speech. Unity has to do with grouping, emphasis with placing and stressing. Those ideas bearing directly on the main point or points of the discourse are to be given greatest prominence, both of position and of space; and conversely, whatever is subsidiary or indirect is to be kept subordinate. As to emphasis of position, the introduction and conclusion of an oration are, as we have seen, the places of greatest importance, and hence for greatest emphasis; the concluding part of any division of the oration, or of any paragraph, is the prominent place, and hence emphasis coincides here with the law of climax; and emphasis in sentence structure is secured by placing the word to be emphasized out of its natural order. As to emphasis of space, all elaboration and iteration should bear directly upon some main point in the discourse, and matters of only indirect bearing should be briefly expressed. Almost every one has heard speakers who flagrantly violated this rule. The orator, even more than the writer, must see large things large and small things small. He must have ever in mind a true perspective of his thought; he must

realize what must be made prominent, and likewise what must be kept in the background, in order to present the subject in its true light. That is, he must observe the law of proportion, — for this is only another name for space-emphasis.

PERSUASION

Recurring to Chapter I, we saw that an appeal to the understanding must underlie all effective oratory. All men are more or less emotional, but most men are not moved to action unless appeals to their feelings are fundamentally reasonable. Even Mark Antony's speech to the Roman mob was argumentative in form. The first aim of the orator, then, must always be to secure conviction. But that alone is not enough, for "one convinced against his will is of the same opinion still." To convince a hearer that your reasoning is sound is one thing, but to induce him to adopt your reasoning as a rule of conduct, — to sacrifice his personal and selfish interests, to act contrary to a previously formed habit or opinion, to vote for a certain man or measure, to contribute toward a given cause, — this is quite another thing which it is the function of persuasion to accomplish. An excellent illustration of the difference between conviction and persuasion is found in an experience by Benjamin Franklin with Whitefield, the great pulpit orator. In his *Autobiography* (p. 152) Franklin says: —

I did not disapprove of the design [the building of an orphan home in Georgia], but as Georgia was then destitute of material and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house here and brought the children to it. This I advised; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded, I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all.

Persuasion, then, is the motive power of conduct and action; and it is the distinguishing characteristic, as was pointed out in Chapter I, of all real oratory. The speaker's work is incomplete until "he has so presented his subject that it takes entire possession of the mind, and operates upon it with such energy as to arouse emotions which control the will." But how are men's emotions to be aroused? The answer to this question, though most apposite to our subject, must be as indefinite as are emotions themselves. There is no art, much less a science, of human nature. Moreover, every subject and occasion furnishes a separate problem. The treatment of persuasion must therefore be largely suggestive.

However, the treatises of the ancient rhetoricians, our own observations of how men's feelings are reached, and a study of the psychology of public speaking, will furnish helps of practical benefit to the student of oratory.

Now, persuasion has its source, so far as the speaker is concerned, in these three elements: (1) the manner of delivery—the personality of the speaker; (2) the subject-matter—what he says; and (3) the style—how (rhetorically considered) he says it.

A discussion of the speaker's manner of delivery, though an important element of persuasion, is outside the scope of this book. Numerous treatises have been written on the subject, and no student of public address can afford to neglect some sort of systematic study and practice of vocal and actional expression. Contrary to the requirements of scientific observations, the personal equation can never be eliminated from public speaking, for it is this which lends its special value to the result. A poor delivery often causes a well-constructed speech to fall flat, while a good delivery frequently covers up many faults of thought and style. In real oratory, as we well know, there is a power in the speaker's voice and manner which is frequently more persuasive than anything contained in the mere words he utters, for often

> "Words are weak and far to seek
> When wanted fifty-fold,

And so if silence do not speak,
And trembling lip and tearful cheek,
There's nothing told."

The second source of persuasion, the subject-matter, is no less important. In order of time, at least, it stands ahead of delivery, for obviously one must have something to say before he can say it. But more than this, that something must lend itself to persuasion; it must in itself, when properly presented, be capable of stirring the emotions. To recall Aristotle's definition of rhetoric, — "the faculty of finding all the means of persuasion on any subject," — his point of view, it will be seen, included the search for subject-matter. The ancient rhetoricians, indeed, worked out elaborate schemes which aimed to supply the various types of public addresses with appropriate topics. Such schemes would to-day be considered neither practicable nor desirable. The invention and discovery of the subject-matter must necessarily be left to the individual speaker. Certain incidental suggestions regarding the search for and arrangement of material are contained later in the text, but our primary inquiry now is, how to present the subject-matter in a persuasive style.

Men's emotions are aroused through those intermediate principles termed "motives." Various attempts have been made to analyze and classify motives and the corresponding emotions. Aristotle, for example, analyzes in considerable detail the following: anger and placability, hatred and love, fear and confidence,

shame and envy, selfishness and benevolence, indignation and compassion, contempt and emulation. This enumeration is, of course, far from complete. And, too, each emotion is capable of wide application. Love, for example, includes love of God, of country, of home, of family, etc. Again, certain motives may be active in one individual, and more or less dormant in another. So with audiences: emotional appeals that would stir one audience might fall flat upon another. In the mastery of the art of persuasion, then, the first requirement is the principle of adaptation.

Adaptation of Appeal to the Audience. — It is a truism to remark that, if a speaker is to persuade a given audience, he must adapt his appeals to reach that audience. And yet how often do we see this principle violated. Of five or six speakers on a programme, how many will succeed in hitting the spirit of the occasion? The speaker must frame his appeals to coincide with the active impulses of his hearers. Further, persuasive appeals must be adapted to the subject. Every subject may not lend itself to the expression of strong feeling, and every one has experienced the incongruity of passionate expression on the part of the speaker when the hearers see nothing to justify it. The limitations of the appeals appropriate to a given subject should be realized. Some speakers are wont to give everything they utter an emotional color, no matter how matter-of-fact and impersonal a topic may be. A preacher,

for example, used to dealing with subjects emotional in their nature, is apt to announce a Sunday-school picnic (referring now also to style of delivery) as though it were the day of judgment.

But even before one studies his subject, he should study his audience. He must know where its sympathies lie with reference to his subject, what prejudices he must overcome, and what sort of appeals are likely to be most effective. Says Quintilian:[1] —

> In all kinds of public speaking, but especially in popular assemblies, it is a capital rule to attend to all the decorum of time, place, and character. No warmth of eloquence can atone for the neglect of this. That vehemence which is becoming in a person of character and authority may be unsuitable to the modesty expected from a young speaker. That sportive and witty manner which may suit one assembly is altogether out of place in a grave cause and solemn meeting. No one should ever rise to speak in public without forming to himself a just and strict idea of what suits his own age and character; what suits the subject, the hearers, the place, the occasion; and adjusting the whole train and manner of his speaking to this idea.

Appeal to the Highest Motives Possible. — Closely allied to the principle of adaptation is another principle which the true orator will always observe. The appeal should be to the highest active impulses that animate a particular audience — the highest motives that can be counted on for effect. While the aim should not be too high, neither should it be too low. In the first place, the speaker owes it to his own con-

[1] *Institutes*, Book XII.

science and self-respect that he avoid appeals to mean or base motives. Moreover, such appeals are apt to defeat their purpose. People generally like to be complimented by appeals higher than they possess. Even criminals like to be addressed on the principle of "honor among thieves." The tricks of persuasion that are often employed do not fool the people so completely as is sometimes thought. When Patrick Henry spoke to an audience of Virginia backwoodsmen in their colloquial dialect, they resented it because they knew that he knew better and implied that they did not. So, when a lawyer fresh from college uses bad grammar in addressing a country jury, it may fail of its intended effect. Even the uneducated mind has a sense of the claims of good English on an educated speaker. The common people like to be addressed in a diction that has the centuries behind it. They want it to be plain, direct, strong, and mayhap racy; but they never as a body desire it to be low. Of the Boston preacher who tried the marine dialect in addressing an audience of sailors, one of the latter said, "There are two things which he did not understand — religion and navigation."

Furthermore, the higher the motives appealed to, the more lasting the effect. The people in the long run will follow that speaker who represents what is just and honorable. For example, in arguing that the United States should annex the island of Cuba, a certain degree of enthusiasm might be aroused by showing the commercial advantages that would result;

but if with this selfish appeal were coupled one showing that the annexation of the island is a duty we owe to ourselves, to the Cubans, and to civilization, the appeal becomes far more effective and lasting. Hence the orator loves to ascend the heights and get a broad outlook upon his subject. He magnifies his theme. He aims to find some great underlying truth or principle which might not appear on the surface, and strives to elevate the hearers' thoughts and feelings to the level of such truth. The orator, indeed, is thereby an orator, because, for that occasion at least, he is a leader. "If you would lift me," says Emerson, "you must be on higher ground."

Indirect Appeals the Most Effective. — Again, emotional appeals are not necessarily open and direct. Indeed, indirect appeals are usually the most effective. True, a speaker must feel regarding his subject as he wants his audience to feel, but the reserve of a strong man is more impressive than over demonstrativeness. Let the orator, then, rest down upon his subject and let *that* speak. Men are not persuaded simply by being told they ought to be. The object for which appeal to action is made must be presented. If money is desired for a new church, or hospital, or for missionary work, the conditions requiring it must be presented. By this method one's cause speaks for itself, and it speaks far more eloquently than would direct appeals to motives of duty and self-sacrifice. So, a description of the suffering and want of a single family in a Johnstown flood or a Galveston storm or

a San Francisco earthquake and fire, is far more persuasive than appeals based on the brotherhood of man and our duty to help the unfortunate. The element of concreteness (presently considered) in this method is another reason why the indirect appeal has the more persuasive force.

Distinctive Qualities of Style in Persuasion. — Thus far we have been considering some of the more general aspects of the rhetoric of persuasion. Let us now attempt to point out more specifically the distinctive qualities that characterize the oratorical style. These qualities may be classified as follows: (1) concreteness, (2) figurative language, (3) analogy and antithesis, (4) direct discourse, (5) suspense and climax, (6) euphony and cadence, (7) seriousness and dignity, (8) energy, variety, and movement, and (9) iteration.

Concreteness. — "A concrete notion is the notion of a body as it exists in nature invested with all its qualities." This is the meaning of concreteness in logic. It stands for an object itself, as distinguished from the attributes of an object.

The presentation of the concrete as opposed to the abstract, — of an object itself as opposed to a description of it, of individuals rather than classes, of a specific example as opposed to a general statement, — this is especially necessary in oral discourse. There are various and obvious reasons why this is so. In the first place, concreteness is a powerful aid to clearness. Even the trained mind cannot follow at

any great length a speaker who deals only in abstractions and generalities, and the untrained mind soon becomes utterly lost. "Exposition sums up experience in the abstract, oratory puts experience into a parable;" as witness the talks of Jesus to his disciples and to the people. The style of the successful popular lecturer or revivalist is marked by the use of vivid, apt stories, and abundant illustrations. In his lectures to the Yale divinity students, Henry Ward Beecher said:—

An illustration is a window in an argument, and lets in light. You may reason without an illustration; but when you are employing a process of pure reasoning and have arrived at a conclusion, if you can then by an illustration flash back light upon what you have said, you will bring into the minds of your audience a realization of your argument that they cannot get in any other way. I have seen an audience, time and again, follow an argument, doubtfully, laboriously, almost suspiciously, and look at one another as much as to say, "Is he going right?"—until the place is arrived at where the speaker says, "It is like—" and then they listen eagerly for what it is like; and when some apt illustration is thrown out before them, there is a sense of relief, as though they said, "Yes, he is right." . . . Then, too, illustrations help the audience to remember the truth presented; because it is true from childhood up that we remember pictures and parables and fables and stories. Now if, in your discourses, when taking a comprehensive view of truth, you illustrate each step by an appropriate picture, you will find that the plain people of your congregation will go away remembering every one of your illustrations. . . . They will remember the picture; and, if they are questioned, the picture will bring back the truth to them;

and after that they will remember both together. Whereas all except the few logically trained minds would very soon have forgotten what you had discoursed upon, if you had not thus suitably seasoned it.[1]

Concreteness not only aids in securing clearness, it is absolutely necessary in order to reach the emotions. Men are not moved by mere abstractions regarding an object or an idea; but present to their view either the object itself or a vivid description of it, or the concrete embodiment of an idea, and you awaken emotions which are wholly unresponsive to abstract reasoning.

The principle of concreteness is capable of wide and varied application. And first as to the presentation of an object itself rather than a mere description of it. This may not be always practicable, but its persuasive force is a matter of common observation and experience. The missionary who is trying to raise funds for foreign missions takes with him a native converted through the work of the mission; the lawyer for the plaintiff in a damage suit presents to the view of the jury his crippled client and the latter's wife and children; the child asking alms is accompanied by her blind father — and so we might go on citing innumerable instances.

Next to the presentation of an object itself is a pictorial or other representation of it, and next to that, a clear and vivid description of it. And the more vivid the description, the more distinct the

[1] *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, I, 158, 159.

mental image and the stronger the emotional effect. Thus, if we read that in a shipwreck a number of people were drowned, or that in a railway accident so many persons were killed or injured, this does not move the feelings as strongly as would a single instance of the shipwreck or the description of an individual sufferer in the railway accident. So, if we read that the farmers of the United States plow under millions of daisies every year, little or no emotion is felt; then read the poem of Burns, *To a Mountain Daisy*, and the result is decidedly emotional. Likewise, a more distinct mental image is created by naming individuals rather than classes. Many of the preceding examples are illustrative of this principle. It is the single point that penetrates and not the broad surface. A composite image is more or less confused. The mental image, for example, would in each case be more distinct by having Luther stand for religious reformers, Napoleon for generals, Washington for patriots, Gladstone for statesmen, Lincoln for liberators. Similarly, the orator should speak of corn and cattle, not agricultural conditions; of Chinese and Japanese, not alien races; of the black man, not the colored race; of John Smith and Bill Jones, not the class to which they belong. So also the specific term calls up a more definite image than the generic term. *Apple blossoms* gives us a more definite image than *orchard bloom*, *orchard bloom* than *flowerage*, *wolf* than *wild animal*, *greyhound* than *dog*, *bread* than *food*, *sky scraper* than *building*, *elm* than *tree*, etc.

Specific terms represent the language of childhood, and their use is in accord with Bacon's advice to use words that "come home to men's business and bosoms."

In this connection, the abstract statement of statistics must, in spoken discourse, generally be avoided. Figures should be "heard and not seen." Their meaning should be translated in terms of comparison or of percentage. For example: "The budget of New York City for 1908 was $140,572,266. That is to say, the whole Empire of Japan runs its government, aside from interest on its war debt, for a little over two-thirds the cost of running the municipal government of the city of New York." And again: "If you dip five buckets of water from the Great Salt Lake, you will have one bucket of salt."

Finally, the need in oratory of the specific example, either in place of or immediately following the general statement, cannot be too strongly urged. Generalizations alone have no persuasive value. And yet this truth is constantly overlooked by public speakers. How often do we hear the common criticism of the typically weak, impressionless address: "Platitudes and glittering generalities." In one of George Ade's *Forty Modern Fables* a man has certain stock phrases which he uniformly uses in all discussions pertaining to art, literature, and music; and the moral is, "For parlor use the vague generality is a life-saver." But for the public speaker, generalizations are useless for either imparting or impressing

his thought; a single concrete example has far more convincing and persuasive force.

A good rule for oratorical composition, and one which every student would do well to follow literally, is: *Follow every general statement with a specific example or concrete illustration.* Suppose, for instance, you are preparing an address on Daniel Webster as an orator. You might say (and this is not an imaginary case) that his style is a model for the orator; that his choice of words is excellent, — simple, precise, picturesque, and forcible; that his sentences are clear, varied in length, and always suited to the thought; that his style is distinguished by its clearness, concreteness, direct discourse, variety, and force — and so on. But these statements are all general, and standing by themselves mean nothing. Considered as exposition, the matter lacks illustration; and considered as argument, it is assertion without proof. These general statements would neither enlighten, convince, nor interest an audience. A specific example of any one of the qualities mentioned, in the way of a quotation from one of Webster's speeches, would be far more effective. Thus a constantly recurring question in oratorical composition should be, What concrete illustration or specific example will make this point clearer and impress it more strongly? As, compare the statement, "In modern times the railroad and telegraph have materially reduced relative distances," with this, "To-day San Francisco is nearer New York than Washington

was a century ago." Again, compare the two following passages, both containing the same thought, as to their relative effect upon a listener. The first is from a discourse by Lord Brougham: —

In all the despotisms of the East, it has been observed that, the further any part of the empire is removed from the capital, the more do its inhabitants enjoy some sort of rights and privileges; the more inefficacious is the power of the monarch; and the more feeble and easily decayed is the organization of the government.

Burke, in his speech on conciliation with America, thus expressed the same idea: —

In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Kurdistan, as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigor of his authority in his center is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders.

Figurative Language. — Closely related to concreteness, and frequently a part of it, is the use of figurative language as another distinctive quality of the oratorical style. All figures of speech are based on an actual or implied comparison. They are therefore a great aid to clearness, for the way we grasp a new idea is by comparing it with what we already know. But aside from its help in making the thought clearer, figurative language appeals to the

hearers' æsthetic sense; it is pleasing as well as illuminating, for even the most matter-of-fact mind is not insensible to the beauty of imagery. An oration must be something more than a solid structure with bare walls. It needs ornamentation to rest the mind and arrest the attention. The most commonplace thought may be put in such form that it sounds refreshing and attractive to a listener. Webster, for example, in his second Bunker Hill oration, following an enumeration of the benefits of good government, thus vitalizes his statements: —

> Everywhere there is order, everywhere there is security. Everywhere the law reaches to the highest and reaches to the lowest, to protect all in their rights and to restrain all from wrong; and over all hovers liberty, — that liberty for which our fathers fought and fell on this very spot, with her eye ever watchful and her eagle wing ever wide outspread.

It must be borne in mind, however, that passages like the preceding, which stir us by their force and beauty, must rise naturally out of the thought, as flowers take their hues from the soil and clime in which they grow. Though useful in securing elegance of style, figures of speech are, after all, primarily instruments of expression, and not of mere ornamentation. The real orator, the man with a message to convey and impress, will ever make sound subservient to sense, phraseology to argument. An utter disregard of this fundamental principle is a glaring fault of school and college oratory. The average young "orator" is prone to mental and

emotional wanderings, to wild imaginations and unbridled enthusiasms, and to a lack of perspective and poise which are evidenced by his unfounded statements, high-sounding phrases, and perfervid appeals "with an apparent utter disregard of all dangers and obstacles, of the limitations of time and space, and of the laws of God and man." His tendency to the use of overwrought and mixed figures is thus satirized by George Ade in his *Forty Modern Fables:* —

> When the gentle youth break out of the High School, they not only launch on the tempestuous sea, but they also begin to ascend the ladder of fame and climb the toilsome mountain side and go into the waiting harvest field, all at the same time.

The fault, however, is by no means confined to the amateur orator. It is characteristic of the "spouter" and "word painter," and Congressional oratory has frequently been satirized along the same lines. Thus, Anson Burlingame, of Massachusetts, in a speech in the House of Representatives in 1856, occasioned by Preston S. Brooks's assault on Charles Sumner, said: —

> The speech by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Keitt] opens in the most extraordinary manner with a "weird torchlight," and then he introduces a dead man, and then he galvanizes him and puts him in that chair, and then he makes him "point his cold finger" around this hall. Why, it almost frightens me to allude to it. And then he turns this hall into a theater, and then he changes or transmogrifies the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Colfax],

who has just spoken, into a snake, and makes him "wriggle up to the footlights"; and then he gives the snake hands, and then "mailed hands," and with one of them he throws off Cuba, and with the other clutches all the Canadas. Then he has men with "glozing mouths," and they are "singing psalms through their noses," and are moving down upon the South "like an army with banners." Frightful, is it not? He talks about rotting or dead seas. He calls our party at one time a "toad," and then he calls it a "lizard"; "and more, which e'en to mention would be unlawful." Sir, his rhetoric seems to have the St. Vitus's dance. He mingles metaphors in such a manner as would delight the most extravagant Milesian.[1]

In the employment of figures, then, great caution is required, on the one hand, that "the exuberance of youthful fancy may not obscure the branches of thought beneath the luxuriant foliage of expression." The essence of the gaudy or glittering style consists in producing a momentary effect by fine words and images brought together without order or connection. If a student in writing an oration aims to weave in all the fine things he can think of, he may be sure that he is making a wrong use of figures, for he is stressing expression above thought. Any speech worth listening to must have a substantial thought-skeleton logically articulated, — that, as Erskine said of Fox's speeches, "in their most imperfect reliques the bones of a giant are to be discovered." And in speaking of Burke, Erskine said: —

I hold it to be a rule respecting public speaking which

[1] Reed, *Modern Eloquence*, XI, 439.

ought never to be violated, that the speaker should never introduce into his oratory insular brilliant passages — they always tend to call off the minds of his hearers, and make them wander from what ought to be the main business of his speech. If he wishes to introduce brilliant passages, *they should run along the line of his subject-matter, and never quit it.*

All figures of speech, be it said again, should spring naturally — necessarily, if you please — from the thought; their sole legitimate function is to make the ideas clearer and more impressive. The ideal oratorical style consists in a happy mingling of appeals to the understanding and to the imagination, in an interplay of thought and fancy, the one relieving and illuminating the other. In his *Lectures on Preaching* (p. 175) Phillips Brooks says: —

> The first necessity of illustration is that it should be true, that is, that it should have real relation to the subject which it illustrates. An illustration is properly used in preaching either to give clearness or to give splendor to the utterance of truth. . . . But both sorts of illustration, as you see, have this characteristic: they exist for the truth. They are not counted of value for themselves. That is the test of illustration which you ought to apply unsparingly. Does it call attention to or call attention away from the truth? If the latter, cut it out without a hesitation. The prettier it is, the worse it is.

But, on the other hand, when figures really do illuminate the thought, they are, for the reasons already stated, very effective. In oratory the severely plain style is rarely desirable. And while the young

orator is apt to err on the score of clearness, applicability, and good taste, his academic critic is apt to be too much afraid of florid or enthusiastic accompaniments, to discourage what he considers the over-figurative style. "Youthful fancy" will gradually tone itself with experience and the cultivation of a more refined taste; and to relieve the plain presentation of the thought by a picture, a touch of fancy or sentiment, and the embellishment of "a reasonable fringe of rhetorical flourish" is necessary in order to reach the average audience. And although such a style might not always please a critical reader, the mass of the people, not being critical, are attracted by and fix upon the fine things, contentedly and perhaps not unwisely ignoring the blemishes. A study of the great orators will show their frequent and effective use of similes, metaphors, epithets, etc. The following examples, selected almost at random, are illustrative.

Rufus Choate (whose manner of delivery — apropos of the point under discussion — Wendell Phillips once described as that of "a monkey in convulsions") was noted for his use of ingenious and telling comparisons. Of a person who, it was claimed, hesitated to commit a small offense when contemplating a greater crime, he asked, "Is it possible to think rationally that if a person were going to plunge into a cataract below the precipice, he would be over careful not to moisten his feet with dew?" In a case of marine insurance, wherein the defense was the unseaworthiness of the

vessel, Choate said, "She went down the harbor a painted and perfidious thing — a coffin, but no ship." A good illustration of his peculiar exaggeration is the following passage in a speech before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature on the disputed boundary question between that state and Rhode Island: "I would as soon think of bounding a sovereign state on the north by a dandelion, on the east by a blue-jay, on the south by a hive of bees in swarming time, and on the west by three hundred foxes with firebrands tied to their tails, as of relying upon the loose and indefinite bounds of commissioners a century ago."

Webster, also, was happy in his use of apt and striking figures. In the quotation previously given (page 121), note how skillfully he employs, without offense, the figure of the badly overworked American eagle. In his first Bunker Hill oration he adds the following imaginative illustrations to give increased reality to his previous statement and argument: "The principle of freedom adheres to the American soil; it is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains. . . . If the true spark of civil and religious liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven." Again, his new way of saying that the

British Empire is of world-wide extent has long been admired: "On a strict question of principle, while actual suffering was still afar off, our Revolutionary forefathers raised their hands against a Power to which Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared; a Power which has dotted the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

Likewise, the striking epithet and the felicitous use of incident in a quick retort are often very effective, especially in debate. Following are two or three typical examples from British parliamentary oratory. Fox once spoke of Pitt as "in the gorgeous attire of a barbarous Prince of Morocco who always puts on his gayest garments as a prelude to the slaughter of many of his subjects." Again, when the panic caused by the French Revolution was assigned as the reason for the seizure of Poland by Russia and Prussia, Fox was reminded of a pick-pocket who said that in a crowd he had been struck with a panic and grasped the first thing that came in his way, which happened to be a gentleman's watch! Disraeli, when minority leader of the House of Commons, once made the following comparison: "As I gazed over at the Treasury Bench and viewed the row of exhausted champions of this measure, I was reminded of a marine landscape not unusual

along the coast of South America: you behold a range of extinct volcanoes!"

Analogy and Antithesis. — While these terms are comprehended under the use of figurative language, their importance in oratory is such as to demand special attention. It is a well-known truth that the human mind is best enlightened and impressed through resemblances and contrasts — the like and the unlike. A new idea is made comprehensible by comparing it with something already known. Hence the orator's frequent use of analogy in the form of historic parallels. In his eulogy of O'Connell, for example, Wendell Phillips says: —

His unmatched, long-continued power almost passes belief. You can only appreciate it by comparison. Let me carry you back to the mob-year of 1835, in this country, when the Abolitionists were hunted; when the streets roared with riot; when from Boston to Baltimore, from St. Louis to Philadelphia, a mob took possession of every city; when private houses were invaded and public halls were burned; press after press was thrown into the river; and Lovejoy baptized freedom with his blood. You remember it. Respectable journals warned the mob that they were playing into the hands of the Abolitionists. Webster and Clay and the staff of Whig statesmen told the people that the truth floated farther on the shouts of the mob than the most eloquent lips could carry it. But law-abiding, Protestant, educated America could not be held back. Neither Whig chiefs nor respectable journals could keep these people quiet. Go to England. When the Reform Bill of 1831 was thrown out from the House of Lords, the people were tumultuous; and Melbourne and Grey, Russell and

Brougham, Lansdowne, Holland, and Macaulay, the Whig chiefs, cried out, "Don't violate the law: you help the Tories! Riots put back the bill." But quiet, sober John Bull, law-abiding, could not do without it. Birmingham was three days in the hands of a mob; castles were burned; Wellington ordered the Scots Greys to rough-grind their swords as at Waterloo. This was the Whig aristocracy of England.

O'Connell had neither office nor title. Behind him were three million people steeped in utter wretchedness, sore with the oppression of centuries, ignored by statute. For thirty restless and turbulent years he stood in front of them and said, "Remember, he that commits a crime helps the enemy." And during that long and fearful struggle, I do not remember one of his followers ever being convicted of a political offense, and during this period crimes of violence were very rare. There is no such record in our history. Neither in classic nor in modern times can the man be produced who held a million of people in his right hand so passive.[1]

In commenting on Phillips's maiden speech[2] George William Curtis made use of the following historical parallels:—

In the annals of American speech, there has been no such scene since Patrick Henry's electrical warning to George III. It was the greatest of oratorical triumphs, when a supreme emotion, a sentiment which is to mold a people anew, lifted the orator to adequate expression. Three such scenes are illustrious in our history: that of the speech of Patrick Henry at Williamsburg, of Wendell Phillips in Faneuil Hall, of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg —

[1] *Speeches, Lectures, and Orations, Second Series*, 416.

[2] See page 59.

three, and there is no fourth. They transmit, unextinguished, the torch of an eloquence which has aroused nations and changed the course of history, and which Webster called "noble, sublime, godlike action.". . . As Demosthenes was the orator of Greece against Philip, and Cicero of Rome against Catiline, and John Pym of England against the Stuart despotism, Wendell Phillips was distinctively the orator, as others were the statesmen, of the antislavery cause. When he first spoke at Faneuil Hall, some of the most renowned American orators were still in their prime. Webster and Clay were in the Senate, Choate at the bar, Edward Everett upon the academic platform. From all these orators Phillips differed more than they differed from each other. Behind Webster and Everett and Clay there was always a great organized party, or an entrenched conservatism of feeling and opinion. They spoke accepted views. They moved with masses of men, and were sure of the applause of party spirit, of political tradition, and of established institutions. Phillips stood alone.[1]

The preceding extracts, it will be seen, illustrate the use of contrast, as well as that of resemblance. The value of antithesis — the balancing of one word, phrase, or clause against another — is a well-known rhetorical law. And the same principle applies generally in the treatment of any subject. Ideas are always made more forcible by presenting their contrasts. "Give us the concession, the opposing fact, the limiting fact, first, and we shall feel more deeply the main contention." It was a favorite method with Macaulay to tell what things were not true before telling what things were true. A student's oration is

[1] *Orations and Addresses*, III, 280–282.

often worked out on a dead level; there are no valleys to set off the mountain heights; if an argument, it is apt to wholly ignore the other side of the question; if a eulogy, it is fulsome praise only. The strong arguments opposed to your view should be presented, for the purpose, of course, of showing that your own arguments are the stronger. Similarly, the faults of him you are eulogizing should be used to show that the man was great in spite of his faults. Again, the measure of a man's success is emphasized by showing the difficulties he had overcome. The preceding extract from Phillip's eulogy of O'Connell is illustrative. Following is another example from his lecture on Toussaint L'Ouverture:—

You remember Macaulay says, comparing Cromwell with Napoleon, that Cromwell showed the greater military genius, if we consider that he never saw an army until he was forty; while Napoleon was educated from a boy in the best military schools in Europe. Cromwell manufactured his own army; Napoleon at the age of twenty-seven was placed at the head of the best troops Europe ever saw. They were both successful; but, says Macaulay, with such advantages, the Englishman showed the greater genius. Whether you allow the inference or not, you will at least grant that it is a fair mode of measurement.

Apply it to Toussaint. Cromwell never saw an army until he was forty; this man never saw a soldier until he was fifty. Cromwell manufactured his own army, — out of what? Englishmen, — the best blood in Europe; and with it he conquered, — what? Englishmen, — their equals. This man manufactured his army out of what? Of what you call the despicable race of negroes, debased, demoralized by two

hundred years of slavery. Yet out of this mixed, and, as you say, despicable mass, he forged a thunderbolt, and hurled it, — at what? At the proudest blood in Europe, the Spaniard, and sent him home conquered; at the most warlike blood in Europe, the French, and put them under his feet; at the pluckiest blood in Europe, the English, and they sulked home to Jamaica. Now if Cromwell was a general, at least this man was a soldier.

Direct Discourse. — To be able to write as though speaking directly to an audience is the highest attainment in preparation. An essay may be more or less impersonal. An oration always aims to convey a message which is of personal import to the speaker in such a way as to make it of like personal import to the hearers. The orator's aim must be to convey and impress his thought so that his audience sees and feels it as he himself does. It is related that a clergyman once came to the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, and asked to be helped to a parish. The great London preacher at once set his visitor to preaching a sermon. In the midst of the delivery Dr. Parker interrupted with the comment, "Now I know why you do not have a parish, — you are speaking to get something off your mind, not into mine." In the preparation of an address it is of the highest importance that the writer has the attitude of getting his message into the minds of his hearers. In one of his debates with Douglas, Lincoln said, "Let me talk to some gentleman down there among you who looks me in the face." This represents the only proper attitude for the speaker. Real oratory is funda-

mentally conversational, it is speaking face to face. And this condition necessitates a far larger use of direct discourse in an oration than might be desirable in an essay.

Direct discourse may be attained by various rhetorical forms, such as the use of: (1) interrogation, (2) the second person, (3) apostrophe and personification, and (4) the direct quotation.

(1) The oratorical (rhetorical) question is widely serviceable in securing emphasis and directness. It is used by a speaker, not for the purpose of getting an answer, or of receiving information, but as a means of expressing his own opinions more strongly. In oratory the interrogation should often be used in preference to the simple declarative form. Instead of saying, "This is true," say, "Is this not true?" It is often a good plan to put the topic-sentence of a paragraph in the interrogative form. For example, "These evils demand a remedy," would be more direct and emphatic in this form: "Should not some remedy be provided to cure these evils?" Cicero, in his arraignment of Catiline, would have been less forcible had he put in declarative form his well-known opening sentence, "How long, O Catiline, will you trifle with our patience?" Oratorical literature is full of similar examples. The following excerpt, from Everett's oration on the Pilgrims, is illustrative: —

> Shut now the volume of history, and tell me, on any principle of human probability, what shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers. Tell me, man of military science,

in how many months were they all swept off by the thirty savage tribes enumerated within the early limits of New England? Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony, on which your treaties and conventions had not smiled, languish on the distant coast? Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned adventures of other times, and find the parallel of this. Was it the winter's storm, beating upon the houseless heads of women and children? was it disease? was it the tomahawk? was it the deep malady of a blighted hope, a ruined enterprise, and a broken heart aching in its last moments at the recollection of the loved and left beyond the sea? — was it some or all of these united that hurried this forsaken company to its melancholy fate? And is it possible that neither of these causes, that not all combined, were able to blast this bud of hope? Is it possible that from a beginning so feeble, so frail, so worthy, not so much of admiration as of pity, there has gone forth a progress so steady, a growth so wonderful, a reality so important, a promise, yet to be fulfilled, so glorious?

Following is another example, from a sermon by Dwight L. Moody: —

If the sinner and God are well pleased with Christ, then the sinner and God can meet. The moment you say, as the Father said, "I am well pleased with Him," and accept Him, you are wedded to God. Will you not believe the testimony? . . . Once more He repeats it, so that all may know it. With Peter and James and John, on the mount of transfiguration, He cries again, "This is My beloved Son; hear Him." And that voice went echoing and reëchoing through Palestine, through all the earth from sea to sea; yes, that voice is echoing still, Hear Him! Hear Him!

My friend, will you hear Him to-day? Hark! What is

He saying to you? "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For My yoke is easy and My burden is light." Will you not think well of such a Saviour? Will you not believe in Him? Will you not trust in Him with all your heart and mind? Will you not live for Him? If He laid down His life for us, is it not the least we can do to lay down ours for Him? If He bore the cross and died on it for me, ought I not to be willing to take it up for Him? Oh, have we not reason to think well of Him? Do you think it is right and noble to lift up your voice against such a Saviour?[1]

Again, a question in the affirmative form which demands a negative answer, is often reëmphasized by giving the answer, with the reasons therefor. This is a construction frequently used by orators. Senator Albert J. Beveridge, in a speech at St. Louis in 1900, thus employed the question and answer method: —

What is the Constitution, my fellow-citizens? Is the Constitution liberty? No, because we had liberty before we had the Constitution. Is it the flag? No, because we had the flag before we had the Constitution. Is it independence? No, because we had independence before we had the Constitution. Is it free institutions? No, because we had free institutions before we had the Constitution. What is the Constitution, then? A method of national government. What was the purpose of establishing it? To provide a method of government. What is its ruling spirit? The spirit of a united nationality. What are its most sacred words? "We, the *people* of the United States of America."

[1] Bryan, *The World's Famous Orations*, X, 92–93.

(2) The very relation of speaker and hearer requires the frequent use of the second person. The speaker should impress each hearer with the idea, "I am speaking to *you*." Hence the orator will frequently introduce the directness of the "you" form of address rather than that of the third person; as, "You know from your own experience how this principle works," "You remember the story told by Dickens," etc., — and thus adding compliment to directness. Following is an example of direct address in pulpit oratory: —

The choice of God must be an unreserved choice. It must be made without any mental reservations whatever. As sure as you live the choice of God, if dominant and regnant, will powerfully affect your lives. You lawyers — the choice of God will affect the way you get up your cases, handle your witnesses, and effect equities between man and man. You business men — the choice of God will bear heavily on the way you treat your workers, the hours of toil, and the wages given; it will affect the dividends you pay to stockholders, the kind of mortgages you take and the rate you charge, and the profit you squeeze from your investment. You workingmen and clerks — the choice of God will stop some unholy practices in the name of the long-suffering union; it will save time, money, and worry for employers. Grocers and butchers, when they royally choose God, will stop slipping into their bills items already paid for. Contractors will tin up under the shingles — see specifications. In a word, the choice of God will cost, for the choice of the highest is bound to cost in things that are lowest. Ye cannot serve God and Baal.[1]

[1] From a sermon by Rev. Alexander McGaffin, pastor of Euclid Avenue Presbyterian Church, Cleveland, Ohio.

In this connection, while the relation of the hearer to the speaker — the second person — should be stressed, the speaker himself should be kept in the background, and hence the use of the first person should generally be avoided. A common fault in students' orations is such statements as, "I think so and so," "I would not put a premium on warfare," "I am not a pessimist," etc.; such expressions as these, where an implied reference is made to the value of the speaker's personal opinion, might sometimes be tolerated in a speaker of distinction, but are presumptuous in the case of an amateur. As a general rule, whenever it is desirable to employ the first person, use "we" rather than "I." The editorial "we," however, is always out of place in oratory.

(3) "He is the best orator who can turn men's ears into eyes," is the saying of an Arabian proverb. In apostrophe the speaker turns from the regular course of thought, and instead of continuing to speak of an object in the third person, speaks to it in the second person; he addresses the absent as though present, the inanimate as though animate, the dead as though living. The use of this figure therefore aids in directness by bringing the distant near and making the imaginary real. The figure may be overworked, and good judgment be lacking in its use, but when rightly employed it is very effective. The exclamation of King David, on hearing of the death of Absalom, is a familiar example of addressing the absent as though present: —

O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!

Attributing life to an inanimate object frequently adds interest, emphasis, and directness. In his oration on the Puritans, George William Curtis said: —

We leave to Greece her glory, to Rome her grandeur, to every land its choicest blessings. But to-day there is a filial feast. We behold New England clothed in her sparkling snow, crowned with her evergreen pine; the glory of her brow is justice, the splendor of her eye is liberty, and her abundant bosom shall nourish endless generations.

Persons and objects may also be summoned before the audience and addressed directly, and sometimes be made to speak as in the presence of the audience. The late Senator Hoar, in a speech in the United States Senate on the Philippine question, said, in part: —

I have sometimes fancied that we might erect here, in the capital of the country, a column to American Liberty which alone might rival in height the beautiful and simple shaft which we have erected to the fame of the Father of the Country. I can fancy each generation bringing its inscription, which should recite its own contribution to the great structure of which the column should be but the symbol.

The generation of the Puritan and the Pilgrim and the Huguenot claims the place of honor at the base: "I brought the torch of freedom across the sea. I cleared the forest. I subdued the savage and the wild beast. I laid in Christian liberty and law the foundations of empire." . . .

Then comes the generation of the Revolutionary time: "I encountered the power of England. I declared and won the independence of my country. For the first time in history I made the right of the people to govern themselves safe, and established institutions for that end which will endure forever."

The next generation says: "I encountered England again. I vindicated the right of an American ship to sail the seas the wide world over without molestation. I proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine in the face of the Holy Alliance, under which sixteen republics have joined the family of nations." Then comes the next generation: "I did the mighty deeds which in your younger years you saw and which your fathers told. I saved the Union." Then comes another who did the great work in peace, in which so many of you had an honorable share: "I kept the faith. I brought in conciliation and peace instead of war. I covered the prairie and the plain with happy homes and with mighty states. I made my country the richest, freest, strongest, happiest people on the face of the earth."

And now what have we to say? Must we engrave on that column: "We repealed the Declaration of Independence. We crushed the only republic in Asia. We made war on the only Christian people in the East. We baffled the aspirations of a people for liberty!"[1]

Closely akin to apostrophe is the use of exclamation. It is a highly emotional form of speech wherein the speaker turns from the simple declarative statement to an expression of surprise or wonder regarding an object or a truth, as in Hamlet's oft-quoted words:—

What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason!

[1] Condensed from the author's *Public Speaking*, 151–155.

how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!

(4) Finally, the direct quotation, rather than the indirect, is usually desirable in oral discourse. The original form has the greater enforcing value. And, too, imaginary quotations are frequently introduced with much better effect than the statement of the same ideas in the third person. Persons and classes are made to speak in the first person, and, for the purpose of direct enforcement of an idea, individuals are sometimes made to carry on an imaginary conversation. This rhetorical device — the method of dialogue — is a great aid in securing directness, and is frequently used in oratory. The following passage, in the sermon previously quoted from (page 136), is illustrative: —

The choice of God must be an unreserved choice. There must be no prejudging of the issue, no previewing of the future, no shrewd and worldly calculation of the cost, no saying, "I will choose Him and take Him as far as my interests will permit." That is blasphemy. That is what Joshua feared in Israel. "We will serve the Lord," they cried. "You can't," answered the old warrior. "We will." "You can't; you're not fit; He is a holy God, a jealous God." "We will serve Him," they urged. "Very well, then," said he, "you are on record against yourselves. Put away every strange god from among you."

Another example is the following from Phillips's eulogy of O'Connell: —

It was at this moment, when the cloud came down close to earth, that O'Connell, then a young lawyer just admitted to the bar, flung himself in front of his countrymen, and begged them to make one grand effort. The hierarchy of the Church disowned him. They said, "We have seen every attempt lead always up to the scaffold; we are not willing to risk another effort." The peerage of the island repudiated him. They said, "We have struggled and bled for a half dozen centuries; it is better to sit down content." Alone, a young man without office, without wealth, without renown, he flung himself in front of the people, and asked for a new effort. . . . O'Connell was brave, sagacious, eloquent; but, more than all, he was a statesman, for he gave to Ireland's own keeping the key of her future. As Lord Bacon marches down the centuries, he may lay one hand on the telegraph and the other on the steam engine, and say, "These are mine; for I taught you how to study Nature." In a similar case, as shackle after shackle falls from Irish limbs, O'Connell may say, "This victory is mine; for I taught you the method, and I gave you the arms."[1]

Suspense and Climax. — Suspense, in rhetoric, "is the method of reserving for the end of a clause or sentence some important word or some word necessary to complete the construction." In oratory suspense also refers to withholding an idea through a succession of clauses, or of sentences, or even of paragraphs. This plan may often serve to stimulate a hearer's attention by arousing his curiosity. Every one knows that the interest of a story depends upon reserving the main point until the very end. So the typical nominating speech at political conventions holds in reserve

[1] *Speeches, Lectures, and Orations*, Second Series, 389.

the intended nominee, sometimes until the very close. In his speech nominating Blaine for the presidency, in 1876, Ingersoll concluded as follows: —

> Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers who died upon the field of battle . . . Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders — James G. Blaine.

In like manner Mr. Burton, in the Republican national convention of 1908, closed a nominating speech with this sentence: —

> And so to-day, in the presence of more than ten thousand, and with the inspiring thought of the well-nigh ten thousand times ten thousand who dwell within our borders, I nominate for the presidency that perfect type of American manhood, that peerless representative of the noblest ideals in our national life, William H. Taft, of Ohio.

So also Mr. Dunn, in the Democratic national convention of 1908, thus concluded: —

> I obey the command of my state and the mandate of the democracy of the nation, when I offer the name of America's great commoner, Nebraska's gifted and incomparable son, William Jennings Bryan.

As a general rule, however, the principle of suspense does not mean that the audience should be kept in ignorance of the main points of a discourse; it means, rather, that suspense may be made serviceable in enforcing these points. One of the most

usual ways of securing suspense is by the use of the periodic sentence, — a construction wherein the main idea in a sentence is not expressed until the very close; as, the sentences last above quoted. So distinctively is the periodic construction a characteristic of the oratorical style that we frequently hear it said of a speech that it abounded in well-rounded *periods*. Used to excess, periodic sentences may result in heaviness and monotony; but judiciously used, they aid in emphasis, stimulate attention, and promote ease and volume in delivery. Following is an example: —

Forth from the morning of Greece, come, Leonidas, with your bravest of the brave; in the rapt city, plead, Demosthenes, your country's cause; pluck, Gracchus, from aristocratic Rome her crown; speak, Cicero, your magic word; lift, Cato, your admonishing hand; and you, patriots of modern Europe, be all gratefully remembered; but where, in the earlier ages, in the later day, shall we find loftier self-sacrifice, more unstained devotion to worthier ends, issuing in happier results to the highest interests of man, than in the English Puritan!

The well-known peroration of Webster's reply to Hayne is periodic throughout: —

When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once-glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather, behold the

gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured — bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, What is all this worth? nor those other words of delusion and folly, Liberty first, and Union afterwards; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, — Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

Rufus Choate was noted for his long-sustained periods. Following is an example from his oration on the Pilgrims: —

That scene of few and simple incidents, which dilates as you gaze on it, and speaks to you as with the voices of an immortal song; which becomes idealized into the auspicious going forth of a colony whose planting has changed the history of the world; a colony on the commencement of whose heroic enterprise the selectest influences of religion seemed to be descending visibly, and beyond whose perilous path are hung the rainbow and the westward star of empire; the voyage of the Mayflower; the landing; the slow winter's night of disease and famine in which so many, the good, the beautiful, the brave sunk down and died, giving place at last to the spring-dawn of health and plenty; the meeting with the old red race on the hill beyond the brook; the treaty of peace unbroken for half a century; the organization of a republican form of government in the Mayflower cabin; the planting of these kindred and coeval auxiliar institutions, without which such a government can no more live than the

uprooted tree can put forth leaf or flower; institutions to diffuse pure religion; good learning; austere morality; the practical arts of administration; labor, patience, obedience; "plain living and high thinking"; the securities of conservatism; the germs of progress; the laying deep and sure, far down on the rock of ages, of the foundation stones of the imperial structure, whose dome now swells towards heaven; the timely death at last, one after another, of the first generation of the original Pilgrims, not unvisited, as the final hour drew nigh, by visions of the more visible glory of a latter day, — all these high, holy, and beautiful things come thronging fresh on all our memories, beneath the influence of the hour.[1]

Climax consists in the arrangement of words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs in the order of ascending power, with a view of a gradual increase of impressiveness. In oratory the principle of climax demands special attention. The closing words of a sentence are the ones that linger in the hearer's mind. Hence the rule that a sentence should end with words of distinction, and not with words comparatively unimportant, mean, or belittling. Thus, it is rarely expedient to end a sentence with an adverb or a preposition. Instead of "Such things were not allowed formerly," say, "Formerly such things were not allowed;" instead of "Avarice is a vice which wise men are often guilty of," say, "Avarice is a vice of which wise men are often guilty." So with clauses and sentences. Quintilian's general rule on the matter is, "A weaker assertion or proposition should never

[1] *New England Society Orations*, I, 327.

come after a stronger one." In his oration against Verres, Cicero uses the following climax: —

To bind a Roman citizen is an outrage; to scourge him is an atrocious crime; to put him to death is almost a parricide; but to put him to death by crucifixion — what shall I call it?

Following are two impressive climaxes occurring in Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings: —

For eighteen months, without intermission, this destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore; and so completely did these masters in their art, Hyder Ali and his ferocious son, absolve themselves of their impious vow, that, when the British army traversed, as they did, the Carnatic country for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march, they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description whatever. One dead, uniform silence reigned over the whole region. . . .

Therefore hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose honor he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all.

Not only in the sentence structure, but also in the

larger divisions of the oration, should the law of climax be observed. While climax usually results from suspense, there may be a "gradual increase of impressiveness" without suspense. Thus, beginning with statements addressed primarily to the understanding, the speaker presently will bring his thought within the circle of the hearers' sensibilities and emotions, strengthening the expression and deepening the impression of his discourse until it shall culminate in the best and strongest words he can command. Such periodic climaxes, occurring not too often, but closing each important division, have a cumulative force more effective than any single phrase, however brilliant. The close of a paragraph, as a general rule, should constitute a climax; the paragraphs should follow each other in climactic order; and the conclusion should be the climax of the whole discourse. Illustrative examples will be found in the perorations given in the preceding chapter.

Euphony and Cadence. — In oral discourse those words and sentences should be employed that speak well. At this point, again, appears a striking difference between the essay and the oration. One may silently read pages of words inharmoniously combined, and feel comparatively little jarring sensation. Read the same pages aloud, and the most untrained ear will note the harsh effect. Lamb's essays, for example, are much better adapted to silent reading than to reading aloud. It is proverbial that in oratory weak, commonplace thoughts, if clothed in beautiful

language, are more effective with a popular audience than are strong, original thoughts inharmoniously expressed. The demands of euphony, therefore, must not be neglected. A sentence which cannot easily be pronounced is an inharmonious sentence, and should either be thrown out or recast. Harmony, to be sure, is not the prime consideration in oratory; sound is a quality much inferior to sense. However, the element of euphony cannot be disregarded; for men are influenced, not merely by what is reasonable, but also by what is agreeable.

The way a sentence sounds depends upon both the choice and the arrangement of words. Whatever words are difficult to pronounce are unpleasant to hear; as, smoothedst, inextricableness, excogitation, lowlily, arbitrarily, incalculably, meteorological, — and, in general, words having either a repetition of syllables of similar sound or a long succession of unaccented syllables. As to arrangement, words euphonious by themselves may displease the ear on account of their proximity to other words containing similar sounds; as, His history, I can candidly say, I confess with humility my inability to decide, How it was was not explained. The ideal arrangement for euphony is the regular alternation of vowels and consonants, the liquids predominating, as in the following: —

> Lay him low, lay him low,
> In the clover or the snow;
> What cares he? he cannot know;
> Lay him low.

Or, note the alternation of liquid and rugged sounds in these lines from Whittier: —

> I love the old melodious lays
> Which softly melt the ages through,
> The songs of Spenser's golden days,
> Arcadian Sidney's silvery phrase,
> Sprinkling our noon of time with freshest morning dew.

Again, while a certain alliteration and rhythm is allowable in prose, any suggestion of rhyme should be avoided; as, Then Robert E. Lee began to make history, Avoid any appearance of incoherence, The sailors mutinied and set him afloat in an open boat.

As to cadence, the finest oratorical passages have a certain rhythmical movement, the words being arranged in such a manner that the accents come at convenient and somewhat measured intervals. This measured style, like everything else, may be carried to excess; but it is especially adapted to the expression of passion. Some one has advanced the theory that the regularly recurring accent (measure) corresponds to a speaker's heart beats, and the longer pauses (cæsura) to the respiration. However fanciful this may be, we know that the arrangement of words in regular measure, as in blank verse, makes them easier to speak and pleasanter to hear. "Oratory," says Grote, "is like music; it must have tone and time." No rules can be laid down for securing cadence, but a writer may test his sentences on this score by reading them aloud. Note, for example, the poetic measure in the following sentence: "How

beautiful was the snow, falling all the day long, all the night long, on the roofs of the living, on the graves of the dead." This measured style characterizes many of Webster's orations, such as his Bunker Hill and Plymouth addresses, and the stronger appeals in his Reply to Hayne. It is a marked characteristic, also, of Grady's style. Following is a single example: —

Some one has said, in derision, that the old men of the South, sitting down amid their ruins, reminded him of "the Spanish hidalgoes sitting in the porches of the Alhambra and looking out to sea for the return of the lost Armada." There is pathos, but no derision, in this picture to me. These men were our fathers. Their lives were stainless. Their hands were daintily cast, and the civilization they builded in tender and engaging grace hath not been equaled. The scenes amid which they moved, as princes among men, have vanished forever. A grosser and more material day has come, in which their gentle hands can garner but scantily, and their guileless hearts fend but feebly. Let me sit, therefore, in the dismantled porches of their homes, into which dishonor hath never entered, to which discourtesy is a stranger, and gaze out to sea, beyond the horizon of which their Armada has drifted forever. And though the sea shall not render back for them the argosies which went down in their ships, let us build for them, in the land they love so well, a stately and enduring temple, its pillars founded in justice, its arches springing to the skies, its treasuries filled with substance, liberty walking in its corridors and religion filling its aisles with incense; and here let them rest in honorable peace and tranquillity until God shall call them hence, to "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Ingersoll, too, was fond of this lilting rhythm, or prose-poetry; as, the conclusion of his Grand Army address entitled "A Vision of War":—

These heroes are dead. They died for liberty — they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land they made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemlocks, the tearful willows, and the embracing vines. They sleep beneath the shadows of the clouds, careless alike of sunshine or of storm, each in the windowless palace of Rest. Earth may run red with other wars: they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serenity of death. I have one sentiment for soldiers living and dead: Cheers for the living; tears for the dead.

Especially the very close of a sentence, and most especially the very closing words of a speech, require the application of this principle of cadence, for any marked falling off in sonorousness at the end is displeasing to the ear. Therefore both cadence and climax require that a sentence should not end with a small, unimportant, or unaccented word. A polysyllable, or the expansion of a single word into a phrase, is sometimes advisable in order to round out a sentence in pleasing measure. Suppose, for example, the last word in the following sentence were changed to an unaccented adjective such as *strong*, and note the difference in the effect: "It shall stand towering sublime, like the last mountain in the deluge, while the earth rocks at its feet and thunders peal above its head, — majestic, immutable, magnificent."

Seriousness and Dignity. — In its best and highest

sense, oratory is preëminently ethical. It is an embodied appeal to what is righteous in man, and should therefore be characterized by "that high and excellent seriousness which Aristotle sets down as one of the supreme virtues of poetry, and without which neither oratory nor poetry can attain supremacy." Seriousness, as a dominant quality in oratory, is implied in the term "persuasion." As we have seen, the higher the motive appealed to, the more lasting the effect, and the highest motives are always serious. Then, too, the dominant seriousness of oratory proper arises from the tragedy of human life,—a life of struggle, pain, sorrow, disappointment, and death. Hence those orators who have left an impress were, as Emerson says, "grave men, who preferred their integrity to their talent, and esteemed that object for which they toiled, whether the prosperity of their country, or the laws, or a reformation, or liberty of speech or of the press, or letters, or morals, as above the whole world, and themselves also." One may look in vain for a joke in the really great orations of Burke or Webster or Lincoln. True, wit and humor may pervade a discourse, but they should be only incidental. Sometimes, of course, a subject may not lend itself to serious appeal. Thus, Mr. Dolliver, of Iowa, in a speech in Congress against the exclusion of American pork from European markets, perhaps made the best possible use of his subject when he uttered the following famed peroration: —

I hope the time will come when the American hog, with

a curl of contentment in his tail and a smile of pleasure on his face, may travel untrammeled through the markets of the world.

But do not aspire to be the "funny man." A reputation as such is not to be envied, for it destroys a man's influence — people refuse to take him seriously. Every one can recall speakers of this sort. When J. Proctor Knott, for some time a member of Congress from Kentucky, made his noted speech, in 1871, satirizing the proposed St. Croix and Bayfield Railroad Bill and extolling the "glories of Duluth," it was quoted and laughed over as no speech in Congress ever had been before. But although Duluth succeeded in surviving the speech, it seriously affected Mr. Knott's subsequent career in national politics. He had achieved hopelessly the reputation of a humorist, and, although a man of marked ability and earnestness, the country at large would never take him seriously afterwards. Many a public man has suffered a similar experience, and many others, such as President Garfield and Senator Beveridge, have testified to a narrow escape from a like fate. Not that humor is necessarily to be shunned, but it should not dominate one's speech. Nor are seriousness and dignity incompatible with perfect freedom, but freedom should not descend into buffoonery.

Energy, Variety, and Movement. — These qualities are grouped together because they grow out of and mutually supplement each other. As to energy, oratory requires forcible expression. Delivery of

course aids in attaining force, but reference is now had to the style of language-expression. "To energize knowledge is the office of persuasion." Hence we find some writers presenting as a distinctive quality of the oratorical style what is termed "oratorical exaggeration," — the over statement of an idea, by hyperbole or otherwise, in order that it may have its due effect on the minds of the hearers. This is a quality not uncommon in the speeches of Wendell Phillips. Following are some detached sentences from his oration, *The Scholar in a Republic:* —

You can find in Sir Harry Vane the pure gold of two hundred and fifty years of American civilization, with no particle of its dross. Plato would have welcomed him to the Academy, and Fénelon kneeled with him at the altar. He made Somers and John Marshall possible; like Carnot, he organized victory: and Milton pales before him in the stainlessness of his record. — History is, for the most part, an idle amusement, the daydream of pedants and triflers. The world and affairs have shown me that one half of history is loose conjecture, and much of the rest is the writer's opinion. — You can count on the fingers of your two hands all the robust minds that ever kept journals. Only milksops and fribbles indulge in that amusement, except now and then a respectable mediocrity. — The community that will not protect its most ignorant and unpopular member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false and hateful, is only a gang of slaves! — Of all the cants that are canted in this canting world, though the cant of piety may be the worst, the cant of Americans bewailing Russian Nihilism is the most disgusting.

So-called oratorical exaggeration involves a dan-

gerous principle, for truth is neither attained nor impressed by over statement. But real oratory, as Beecher says, "is truth sent home with all the resources of the living man." When a man believes a thing with his whole heart, he will naturally present the truth as he sees it with positiveness and strength. The weak, tame, colorless style has no power for persuasion. The speaker must aim to phrase his words in a pithy, telling, forceful manner. A constantly recurring question in composition must be, "How can I make the expression of this idea more striking?"

The really energetic style will result in variety. We have seen that the use of the periodic sentence, of euphony and cadence, of dignified discourse, are all desirable. But this does not mean that an oration should be characterized by a pompous and stilted style. A variety of motives and sentiments must be appealed to, and variety in presentation must be employed, so that one's thought may come forth, as Curtis said of Phillips's style, "sparkling with richness of illustration, with apt allusion and happy anecdote and historic parallel, with wit and pitiless invective, with melodious pathos, with stinging satire, with crackling epigram and limpid humor, like the bright ripples that play around the sure and steady prow of the resistless ship." In those places where appeal is made primarily to the understanding, let the sentences trip about, as in conversation. Then, in the appeals more purely emotional, the sentence-structure will naturally assume a more elaborate and periodic

form. The much-mooted question of long or short, of periodic or loose sentences, is answered, after all is said, by Voltaire's dictum, "All styles are good that are not tiresome."

In this connection, aim to avoid trite phrases and time-worn comparisons. Our language is full of expressions that were once "very good" but are now "very old." Aim to be original. Do not say, for instance, "Had I the eloquence of Demosthenes and the artistic sense of a Raphael," etc. Beware of such expressions as "our dear old school," "our grand old state," "our great and glorious country." All such really meaningless adjectives are in line with those affected in the "goody-goody" style, — as in the case of the woman described by Spurgeon, who used to say in prayer-meeting, "I was reading this morning in dear Hebrews," etc. So, the climax of Patrick Henry's speech before the Virginia House of Burgesses was thrilling when first given to the world, but it is no longer so, for it has been quoted to death. And so examples might be multiplied of sayings which have been worn out through constant repetition.

Movement is the complement of energy. "An eloquent mind is a mind under motion." It is a mind moving forward under the guidance of clear knowledge and strong feeling toward a definite end. As a speech proceeds, an audience should be able to perceive that some real progress is being made. The thought should move steadily forward, not round and

round, not back and forth. Digressions and details long drawn out should be avoided. An audience nowadays wants a speaker to get to the point. Senator Albert J. Beveridge goes so far as to say that a speaker to-day should do little more than state his conclusions. At any rate, it is often best to put the thought in a nutshell, and leave something to the intelligence of the audience. Not infrequently the orator should avoid explanations and qualifications that might be needed for a critical reader. While the essay may take the form of explanation or statement of fact, the oration often refers to facts in an incidental way for the purpose of deducing therefrom desired conclusions. There is an irritating tendency on the part of many speakers to ring in every conceivable detail to the sacrifice of movement, and to guard their affirmations with so many qualifications that a hearer cannot guess what they really affirm.

An excellent example of movement — and also of climax — is Curtis's description of the battle of Gettysburg: —

> The sun of Gettysburg rose on the 1st of July and saw the Army of the Gray already advancing in line of battle; the Army of the Blue still hastening eagerly forward and converging to this point. The glory of midsummer filled this landscape, as if nature had arrayed a fitting scene for a transcendent event. Once more the unquailing lines so long arrayed against each other stood face to face. Once more the inexpressible emotion, mingled of yearning memory, of fond affection, of dread foreboding, of high hope, of patriotic enthusiasm, and of stern resolve, swept for a mo-

ment over thousands of brave hearts, and the next instant the overwhelming storm of battle burst. For three long, proud, immortal days it raged and swayed, drifting from Seminary Hill far around to Wolf's Hill, and Culp's Hill, then sweeping back, with desperate fury striking the Peach Orchard, and dashing with flash and roar upon Little Round Top and Round Top, raging in Devil's Den, the earth trembling, the air quivering, the sky obscured; with shouting charge, and rattling volley, and thundering cannonade piling the ground with mangled and bleeding Blue and Gray, the old, the young, but always and everywhere the devoted and the brave. Doubtful the battle hung and paused. Then a formidable bolt of war was forged on yonder wooded height and launched with withering blasts and roar of fire against the foe. It was a living bolt, and sped as if resistless. It reached and touched the flaming line of the embattled Blue. It pierced the line. For one brief moment in the sharp agony of mortal strife it held its own. It was the supreme moment of the peril of the Union. It was the heroic crisis of the war. But the fiery force was spent. In one last, wild, tumultuous struggle brave men dashed headlong against men as brave, and the next moment that awful bolt of daring courage was melted in the fervent heat of an equal valor, and the battle of Gettysburg was fought.[1]

Iteration. — Finally, a distinctive quality of the oratorical style is the use of iteration — the repetition, in different forms, of the controlling ideas of a discourse. On first thought, this may seem to be inconsistent with movement, but we must distinguish between controlling and subordinate ideas. It is the undue amplification of the latter that violates the law

[1] *Orations and Addresses*, III, 69–70.

of movement. On the other hand, while a single clear statement of an important idea might be sufficient for a reader, it is usually insufficient for a hearer. Every speaker of experience knows that he must often enlarge upon the simple statement of a thought, and, in effect, repeat it perhaps half a dozen times, before his audience will "take it in." Iteration aids both in clearness and in emphasis. The speaker must make sure, in the first place, that the hearers get the important points as he proceeds, and then he may wish to reënforce these points by varied repetition. The repetition of a word or phrase will often impress an idea as nothing else will. "You can pierce any head or heart if the blows are long enough repeated upon the same spot." Webster, in his second Bunker Hill oration, thus emphasizes the idea of "fire and sword" as marking the progress of Spanish dominion in America: —

> Spain stooped on South America, like a vulture on its prey. Everything was force. Territories were acquired by fire and sword. Cities were destroyed by fire and sword. Hundreds of thousands of human beings fell by fire and sword. Even conversion to Christianity was attempted by fire and sword.

There is, of course, a limit to the use of iteration. There is danger of being so repetitious as to become tiresome. It is always a nice question as to just when the point of greatest emphasis is reached. To go on elaborating what is obvious and enforcing what is already fully impressed, is weakening and tedious.

On the other hand, conciseness in modern oratory has been praised so much and in such a way as to give the impression that the greater the conciseness the greater the power. But this is by no means the case, as the style of the really successful orators will show. The very psychology of public speaking allows — and not infrequently requires — a copiousness which would be out of place in an essay, but copiousness, be it said again, only on *controlling* ideas; the fullness of treatment of various topics should be proportioned to their importance. And, too, iteration proper means a repetition of an idea, but not, unless for the purpose of emphasis, of the language. Mere verbal repetition is only circumlocution or tautology. The method of iteration consists in holding the same idea up in a new light, in seeking a new way of approach. Thus, if a thought has been stated literally, make it figurative; if abstractly, make it concrete by an illustration; if generally, give a specific example.

A form of iteration that demands special mention is the use of the summary and transition. A hearer, as distinguished from a reader, needs to be told occasionally the gist of what has been said, the point to which it leads, and the general trend or direction of the next division of the discourse. Readers may make these summaries and transitions for themselves, hearers must needs have it done for them. Any summary at all extended will usually come at the closing up of one of the larger divisions of the discourse. It

is a good general rule, however, to let each paragraph close with a succinct statement of the main idea therein contained, and to have the opening of the succeeding paragraph echo the preceding and indicate the next topic for discussion. For example: —

Whatever the form of the plea for the abuse, the conclusion is always the same, that the minor places in the Civil Service are not public trusts, but rewards and prizes for personal and political favorites.

The root of the complex evil, then, is personal favoritism. The method of reform, therefore, must be a plan of selection for appointment which makes favoritism impossible.

Or, to give an example of a bald summary, but one having an immediate application: —

We have seen in this chapter that one's style should be individual and fundamentally conversational; that there are certain qualities which distinguish the oratorical from the essay style; that in matter addressed primarily to the understanding, special attention needs to be given to the requirements of clearness, sequence, unity, and emphasis; and that the qualities of style which aid in persuasion are concreteness, figurative language, analogy, antithesis, direct discourse, suspense, climax, euphony, cadence, seriousness, dignity, energy, variety, movement, and iteration.

EXERCISES

1. This chapter should be supplemented by the critical study of model orations. (Bradley's *Orations and Arguments*, Baker's *Forms of Discourse*, or the author's *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory* will furnish convenient texts.)

2. Let students practice preparing speeches adapted to different audiences. For example: Prepare an argument, to be delivered before a Political Science Club, favoring Mr. Hobson's plan of securing a larger navy for the United States; now suppose you were to present the same argument before a mixed audience in a political campaign — how would you revise the first speech?

3. By the use of an anecdote, a story, or a specific example, make the following statements concrete: —

(*a*) The study of biography incites to noble ambition.

(*b*) Deeds of heroism incite heroism.

(*c*) "Predatory wealth" makes socialists and anarchists.

(*d*) America is a great country.

(*e*) Webster was a great orator.

(*f*) Lincoln was a skillful diplomat.

(*g*) The fool-killer is abroad in the land.

(*h*) As the twig is bent the tree is inclined.

(*i*) The successful politician must be honest.

(*j*) A student who cheats on examination only cheats himself.

(*k*) The essential things in oratory are naturalness and earnestness.

4. Point out the excellencies and faults in the following examples of figurative language: —

(*a*) William Sulzer, in a speech in Congress, spoke of a landscape scene in Cuba as "an indescribable mental melody."

(*b*) O'Connell compared the smile of Sir Robert Peel to the shine of a silver plate on a coffin.

(*c*) Great ideas travel slowly, and for a time noiselessly, — as the gods whose feet were shod with wool.

(*d*) His mind was a perfect rag bag of useless things.

— KIPLING.

(*e*) The flood gates of irreligion and intemperance are stalking arm in arm throughout the land.

(*f*) This bill effects such a change that the last leap in the dark was a mere flea-bite.

(*g*) The harvest which the present government has sown is already coming home to roost.

(*h*) We know at last whither the country is being steered.

There is the figurehead with his hand on the rudder; there is the man that moves the figurehead. The figurehead is Mr. Balfour; the man is Mr. Chamberlain.

(*i*) The really great orator shines like the sun, making you think much of the things he is speaking of; the second-best shines like the moon, making you think much of him and his eloquence. — WHATELY.

(*j*) Like the benignity of a summer's day, they have gone down with slow-descending, long-lingering light, to cheer with good omens from beyond the visible margin of the world.

— WEBSTER, *Adams and Jefferson.*

(*k*) As I saw him the evening before [Webster, before his Reply to Hayne] he was as unconcerned and free in spirit as when floating in his fishing boat along a hazy shore, gently rocking on the tranquil tide, dropping his line here and there with the varying fortune of his sport. The next morning he was some mighty admiral, dark and terrible; casting the long line of his frowning tiers far over the sea that seemed to sink beneath him; his broad pennant streaming at the main, the stars and stripes at the fore, the mizzen, and the peak; and bearing down like a tempest upon his antagonist, with all his canvas strained to the wind, and all his thunders roaring from his broadsides. — EVERETT.

(*l*) He [Gladstone] is the tallest mountain peak in the ranges of time, and the earthquake of death, which shook him down, left a chasm in the earth and a gap in the clouds.

— *A College Oration.*

(*m*) As the legend runs, Saint Hubert died and was buried. A green branch lying on his breast was buried with him; and when, at the end of a hundred years, his grave was opened, the good man's body was dissolved into dust, but the fair branch had kept its perennial green. So the advocates of free speech shall die and be buried, and their laurels be buried with them. But when the next generation, wise, just, and impartial, shall make inquiry for the heroes, the prophets, and princely souls of this present age, long after their bones are ashes their laurels shall abide in imperishable green. — TILTON.

5. Similarly, point out the merits and faults in the following miscellaneous examples. Let the student state (1) what quality

of style each example illustrates, (2) whether or not the expression is satisfactory, and if not, how it should be changed: —

(*a*) Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as I am known.

(*b*) I have shown you the evils in the present system, let us now consider what the remedy should be.

(*c*) Although the native growth of trees on our campus cannot now be recalled, we may, if we will, have again a beautiful eminence covered with oak and other growth.

(*d*) The enemy is now hovering on our borders, preparing to press the knife to our throats, to devastate our fields, to quarter themselves in our houses, and to devour our poultry!

(*e*) The President holds the executive power of the land, but the legislative power is vested in Congress.

(*f*) What were the results of this conduct? — beggary! dishonor! utter ruin! and a broken leg!

(*g*) A word from his lips, a thought from his brain, might turn their hearts, might influence their passions, might change their opinions, might affect their destiny.

(*h*) The effect which his first confessions produced induced him to affect much that he did not feel. — MACAULAY.

(*i*) It is certain that his methods seldom failed to accomplish the purpose for which they were designed, whatever may be thought of the humanity of some of them.

(*j*) I don't believe the whole of England's empire is worth the blood she has spilled in South Africa!

(*k*) Some will say at once that this is not true.

(*l*) We live the time that the match flickers; we pop the cork of the ginger-beer bottle, and the earthquake swallows us on the instant. Is it not odd, is it not incongruous, is it not in the highest sense of human speech incredible, that we should think so highly of the ginger beer and regard so little the devouring earthquake? — ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

(*m*) If, by that particular arithmetical rule known as addition, we desired to arrive at the sum of two integers added to two integers, we should find — and I assert this boldly, sir, and without the fear of successful contradiction — we, I repeat, should find by the particular arithmetical formula known as addition —

and, sir, I hold myself perfectly responsible for the assertion I am about to make — that the sum of the two integers added to the two other integers would be four !

(*n*) In recorded history we seldom find a village that has produced a renowned soldier, a noted sculptor, and an orator upon whose lips the goddess of eloquence seemed to have nestled. . . . One bright December morning in 1809, Richard Menefee first saw the saffron tints of a cold, uncongenial world, but the Christian mother who yielded this helpless babe in her morning orison prayed to the ever merciful God to make her son a man among men, and then it was written in the records of destiny that an intellectual giant was born of woman, that a brilliant star was trembling upon the horizon, which would rise to its place in the zenith, and there shine in undimmed glory until the world should be no more, and time had passed into eternity.

Soon began that arduous struggle for undying fame, and although the earliest part of life's tempestuous journey was beset with trials, temptations and vicissitudes galore, yet he rose superior to every occasion, and forced the destinies to crown him with a fadeless laurel and register his name in letters of gold, in that great temple on that never changing scroll of immortals. And ten decades hence, when truth has a hearing, the muse of history will choose Daniels of Virginia, Cockran of New York, Grady of Georgia, Ingersoll of Brooklyn ; then dipping her pen in the sunlight, she will write in the clear blue above them the name of that bright, consummate flower of earlier orators — Richard Menefee. — *Extract from a eulogy by* WILLIAM G. RAMSEY.

(*o*) If you consider deliberative eloquence, in its highest forms and noblest exertion, to be the utterances of men of genius, practiced, earnest, and sincere, according to a rule of art, in presence of large assemblies, in great conjunctures of public affairs, to persuade a People ; it is quite plain that those largest of all conjunctures, which you properly call times of revolution, must demand and supply a deliberative eloquence all their own.

— RUFUS CHOATE.

(*p*) The added cost of articles of consumption resulting from a general increase in freight rates would be infinitesimal. Mr.

W. C. Brown, of the New York Central, has shown that a ten per cent horizontal increase would add less than $\frac{1}{20}$ of a cent to a suit of underwear, less than $\frac{1}{100}$ of a cent to a $1.50 pair of gloves, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents to a $50 refrigerator, less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of a cent to a pound of butter, a dozen eggs, or a pound of dressed poultry, — these figures being calculated for the haul from the producing locality to the great distributing centers.

(*q*) In 1842 Lindley had finished the railway at Hamburg, and was to open it, when the great fire broke out. The self-satisfied citizens called the Englishman to see how well their sixpenny squirts and old pails could put out the fire. But it raged on, till one-quarter of the city was in ruins. "Mynheer Lindley, what shall we do?" cried the frightened senators of Hamburg. "Let me blow up a couple of streets," he answered. "Never, never, never." Another day of flames. "Mynheer Lindley, blow up the streets and welcome; only save us." "Too late," replied the engineer. "To do that I must blow up the Senate House itself." They debated an hour, and then said: "Mynheer Lindley, save us in your own way." In one hour the Senate House was in ruins and the fire ceased.

"Be quiet, Mr. Garrison," said 1830. "Don't you see our sixpenny colonization society, and our old-fashioned pails of church resolves, nicely copied and laid away in vestries? See how we'll put out this fire of slavery." But it burned on fiercer, fiercer. "What shall we do now?" asked startled Whiggery. "Keep the new states free, abolish slavery in the District, shut the door against Texas." "Too much," said Whiggery. "We are busy now making Webster President and proving that Mr. Everett never had an antislavery idea." But the flames roll on. Republicanism proposes to blow up a street or two. No, no; nothing but to blow up the Senate House will do; and soon frightened Hamburg cries: "Mynheer Garrison, Mynheer Garrison, save us on your own terms." — WENDELL PHILLIPS.

CHAPTER V

THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR — GENERAL PREPARATION

THERE are three fundamental factors that constitute the orator: what he is, what he knows, and his power of using himself and his knowledge. The first constituent is comprehended under what Cicero calls the character of the orator, the second under what Quintilian calls his education, and the third involves the processes of composition and delivery. Elaborating a little these three factors, we may say that the orator (1) must be a man of convictions; (2) he must be a man of wide sympathies and keen sensibilities; (3) he must know things; (4) he must know men; (5) he must be a man of wide reading; (6) he needs a large and usable vocabulary; (7) he needs to acquire the habit of gathering speech material; (8) he should practice committing his thoughts to writing; and (9) he should practice expressing his thoughts orally.

Character. — It would seem to be an obvious truth that in order to produce convictions in others a speaker must himself first possess such convictions; that persuasion can result only from the utterance of one who is possessed of an honest mind and a genuine

character. And yet, such is the stress sometimes put on the accidents or accompaniments of oratory — a fine presence or voice, and rhetorical accomplishments — that the fundamental essentials are overlooked. For the difference between good and bad speaking is very often this: a good speaker gives you himself, the best of himself; a bad speaker gives you something not himself, something put on only for the occasion. Insincerity cuts the heart out of all oratory. "You may marshal your arguments and concoct your pretty devices of words and work yourself into a great heat in the speaking of them; but if you do not believe what you say, you are only a play-actor after all — a poor mummer reciting your own lines." No fineness of workmanship, no deftness of handling, can make up for the want of what Emerson calls "a pause in the speaker's own character." The real orator is never an actor. The actor performs his function when he feigns the emotion which fits his part; the orator must have no feigned emotion, he must play no part. True, we have certain facile speakers who often lack strong or genuine convictions, and yet attain a certain measure of success. Very often in such cases we shall find that at the moment of speaking, at least, their utterances and emotions are sincere and genuine, however poorly their character may tally with their words. In any event, we may confidently rest on the wise saying of Lincoln, "You can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you

can't fool all the people all the time." Says Phillips Brooks: "Nobody can truly stand as an utterer before the world, unless he be profoundly living and earnestly thinking. As time goes on, men will more and more insist that a speaker have something good to say." Cato the Elder's definition of an orator is quite as true to-day as when it was first uttered: *vir bonus dicendi peritus* — a good man skilled in speaking. Regarding the representative orator of ancient times, Sears, in his *History of Oratory* (p. 72), says: —

> What is honorable may be regarded as the chief motive in the speeches of Demosthenes. Not that which is most easy, pleasant, and profitable, but that which honor and duty demand of the state and the citizen is the burden of the moral teaching which distinguishes him from many of his contemporaries, placing him on the same plane with the modern orator who most resembles him, Edmund Burke. He was above the prejudice of a mere Athenian; the level of his panhellenic patriotism was higher than that of Pericles, and equaled only, if at all, by that of Epaminondas. He had a high moral sense of citizenship and statecraft and comprehensive views of intertribal obligations, making the foundation of his oratory broad and deep. Without these fundamental principles no command of words could be anything more than a display of verbal pyrotechnics.

Now, without entering upon a dissertation on character building, the student may take to heart these two rules: (1) Never try to make the arts of rhetoric and delivery take the place of real conviction and feeling; and (2) Do not essay to speak on a subject that is of no personal import to you — a subject

regarding which you have no positive, strong beliefs. The latter rule we shall have occasion to discuss in the next chapter, so suffice it to say here that when belief is only second-hand or impersonal (if that is possible), it is insufficient for the earnestness and directness that oratory requires. The first rule involves a principle which claims a brief notice.

A man who has strong convictions and feelings regarding a certain matter or cause will naturally possess earnestness, and this, in turn, should result in positiveness — even aggressiveness, it may be. That is, earnestness in a speaker should make itself felt. We read that the Saviour, who was, after all, the ideal orator, "spoke as one having authority." From Him we may learn that oratory is the utterance of truth by one who knows it to be the truth. Says Beecher: "We reckon the bar, the senate, journalism, and the pulpit, peaceful professions; but you cannot escape the demand for courage in these; and certainly there is no true orator who is not a hero." He who has convictions should have the courage of his convictions. The doubting, qualifying, vacillating, weak-kneed attitude wins no converts. "Brains are good for a minister," some one says, "but brains and brass mixed are better." Positiveness, however, does not mean brass or arrogance, but it does mean self-abandonment to one's cause. The speaker possessing it will adopt the tocsin of William Lloyd Garrison: "I am in earnest! I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch,

and I will be heard!" This quality of positiveness, based on strong conviction, has ever characterized the real prophet or reformer. "The power of Chatham, of Pericles, of Luther," says Emerson, "rested on this strength of character, which, because it did not and could not fear anything, made nothing of their antagonists, and became sometimes exquisitely provoking and sometimes terrific to them." And again: "The eloquent man is one who is inwardly drunk with a certain belief. . . . This terrible earnestness makes good the ancient superstition of the hunter, that the bullet will hit its mark which is first dipped in the marksman's blood." Strong moral conviction and the positiveness resulting from utter abandonment to one's subject constitute a power which, as Webster says, is above eloquence itself: "the clear conception outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object — this, this is eloquence; or, rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence; it is action, noble, sublime, Godlike action."

Emotional Responsiveness. — Stress has repeatedly been placed on the need of an intellectual appeal as the basis of all effective speaking, — the presentation of thought in such a clear, orderly manner as will appeal to a reasonable mind. But this alone is not enough. Persuasiveness necessitates, as we have seen, that intellectual appeals be related to and

result in appeals to the hearers' emotions. And this requires that the orator must himself be emotionally responsive. He must be a man of wide sympathies and keen sensibilities. He must have in his nature, as Beecher says, "that kindly sympathy which connects him with his fellow-men, and which so makes him a part of the audience which he moves as that his smile is their smile, that his tear is their tear, and that the throb of his heart becomes the throb of the hearts of the whole assembly." Lacking such sympathy, one can never attain to the highest reaches of persuasiveness. It is a faculty inborn in some speakers, and sometimes needs repression and control. With others it needs to be cultivated, for the orator must, says Cicero, "set forth with power and attractiveness the very same topics which others discuss in such tame and bloodless phraseology." Says Mr. Parke Godwin, in his eulogy of George William Curtis: —

> His mind was both acute and vigorous, but it was planted in a soil richly sensitive, imaginative, and emotional. . . . His intellectual life came to him from no mysterious pineal gland hidden away in the folds of the brain, but from the tremulous fibers of the senses, whose manifold, many-colored, many-toned messages were taken up by that imperial wizard and artificer, the fantasy — and, by some secret alchemy, dissolved and wrought over again into manifold, many-colored, many-toned words. . . . In early life his personal emotions were so strong that in his writings he was not able to master them completely. But this trait helped his oratory.[1]

[1] *Commemorative Addresses*, 55, 56, 57.

This emotional responsiveness in a speaker lies at the bottom, no doubt, of that quality commonly called "personal magnetism," — that indefinable power which interests, attracts, fascinates, and persuades. Sympathy, the "one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin," is doubtless its chief constituent, for unsympathetic speakers are known to have little personal magnetism. Among other ways of its manifestation, it is sure to find expression — to intrench for a moment upon the subject of delivery — in sympathetic, persuasive tones that come from the heart rather than the head, and so voice the emotions that lie behind the words. A speaker possessing this quality will never pronounce in cold blood words which signify great sentiments, — such as *America, patriotism, love, liberty, humanity.* This intangible though real emotional quality, not as a thing apart, but permeating the orator's discourse as a whole, is the secret of much eloquence which lives only in tradition, because its power exists apart from, and hence can never be discovered in, the words alone.

Knowledge of Things. — It may be said that the ideal orator should know something about everything, and everything about a subject on which he essays to speak. The greater his general knowledge, the greater his power, for every branch of knowledge contributes its quota to his stock of facts, ideas, and illustrations. The great orators have generally been men of vast learning. Pitt, for example, was noted for his general attainments, Burke for his range of

political and historical knowledge, Webster for his mastery of the principles of law, and Gladstone for his wide and varied culture. It is sometimes claimed that the orator "to the manor born" requires no education. But because an uneducated man is sometimes eloquent, would an education detract from his native power? Further, while the uneducated speaker may not know many things, he must necessarily know the one thing about which he speaks. "Know your fact — hug your fact," says Emerson. Especially in these days must an orator have command of his subject; knowledge, real knowledge, not a smattering, is indispensable. And every subject helps in knowing another. Thus, he who would interpret for an audience the history of his own country must know that of foreign countries. He must be familiar, of course, with American institutions, and he must also know the political institutions of other governments, and thereby chasten the notion that wisdom began with us, and that liberty and intelligence hardly exist anywhere else. The orator should know, too, at least the fundamentals of science and philosophy, he should be versed in literature, — and so on through all the realms of human knowledge.

Knowledge of Men. — Quite as important to the orator as the knowledge found in books is a knowledge of men. A writer may succeed well if he understands his subject, but an orator must adapt his knowledge to the persons addressed. Hence, he must know the people, the plain, everyday, average

man, the man in the street, — his conditions, his needs, his ideas, his notions, his prejudices, — and he should learn early that the people generally are not likely to be overpowered by a speaker's condescension in attempting to convince and persuade them. It was studying men in the ordinary walks of life that contributed largely to the power of such orators as Burke, Fox, O'Connell, Mirabeau, and Lincoln. It is said that Burke talked with men at the roadside and in woodsheds, made them understand him, and then transferred his speech to the halls of Parliament. So of Lincoln; his most effective speeches were only the unuttered thoughts and reasoning of the common people. A knowledge of men not only broadens one's sympathies and corrects ideas gotten from books alone, it aids also in applying the principle of adaptation in public speech. Says Beecher, in his *Lectures on Preaching* (I, 94–96): —

I see a man with a small brow, and big in the lower part of his head, like a bull, and I know that man is not likely to be a saint. All the reasoning in the world would not convince me of the contrary, but I would say of such a man that he had very intense ideas, and would bellow and push like a bull of Bashan. Now, practically, do you suppose I would commence to treat with such a man by flaunting a rag in his face? My first instinct in regard to him is what a man would have if he found himself in a field with a wild bull, which would be to put himself on good manners and use means of conciliation, if possible. . . . You may ask, "What is the use of knowing these things?" All the use in the world. If a person comes to me, with dark, coarse hair,

I know he is tough and enduring, and I know that, if it is necessary, I can hit him a rap to arouse him; but if I see a person who has fine, silky hair, and a light complexion, I know that he is of an excitable temperament, and must be dealt with soothingly. Again, if I see one with a large blue watery eye, and its accompanying complexion, I say to myself that all Mount Sinai could not wake that man up. I have seen men of that stamp, whom you could no more stimulate to action than you could a lump of dough by blowing a resurrection trump over it.

Reading. — An acquaintance with the best literature is another aid in the general preparation of the orator. Not every public speaker may have the education offered by the schools, but he may acquire the knowledge to be gained by reading. Bacon says that "reading maketh the full man." It furnishes the orator with facts, ideas, and illustrative matter. Other things being equal, the speech of the well-read man will be the most interesting, impressive, and profitable. The great orators, as a rule, have been extensive readers. William Pitt studied with close attention the Greek, Latin, and English poets, and wove into his speeches, with telling effect, many choice passages he had memorized. The mind of Fox, his biographer says, was "steeped in classical literature." And Fox says: "I am of the opinion that the study of good authors, and especially of poets, ought never to be intermitted by any man who is to speak or write for the public, or, indeed, who has any occasion to tax his imagination, whether it be for argument, for illustration, for ornament, for sentiment, or for

any other purpose." Erskine, before commencing the practice of law, devoted himself for two years to the study of literature, thoroughly familiarizing himself with Shakespeare and committing to memory a large part of Milton. The speeches of Burke likewise reveal his wide and thorough acquaintance with classical literature.

Among American orators, two noteworthy examples may be cited, — Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate. Speaking of his reply to Hayne, Webster said: "All that I had read or thought in literature, in history, in law, in politics, seemed to unroll before me in glowing panorama, and then it was easy, if I wanted a thunderbolt, to reach out and take it as it went smoking by." Choate was not only an omnivorous reader, but he read — and here is a lesson for the aspiring orator — with a possible audience always in mind. During a large part of his life he read aloud daily from some English author. "In literature," he said, "you find ideas. There one should replenish his stock. The whole range of polite literature should be vexed for thoughts. . . . Reading is also necessary to get intellectual enthusiasm. All the discipline and customs of social life, in our time, tend to crush emotional feeling. Literature alone is brimful of feeling."

Two other points in connection with reading should be noted. First, it is an excellent plan to commit to memory fine literary passages for direct quotation and for illustration. It is said of William Pinkney that

"from his youth he made it a rule never to see a fine idea well expressed without committing it to memory." True, the orator needs most to cultivate what is termed the *philosophical* memory, — the power of recalling principles and ideas, rather than mere words, and of classifying the data belonging to a given subject, — but verbal memorizing also has its uses. If, for example, one were to memorize many of the passages contained in the illustrative matter previously given in the text and exercises, consider the various occasions that might arise when such passages could be utilized for quoting. Again, the reading recommended should include oratorical literature, and this preferably aloud. An oration being composed for the ear, not the eye, it follows that one cannot fully appreciate its effectiveness unless it is heard. Let the student, then, read aloud model orations in order to appreciate how masters have employed the oratorical qualities of style discussed in the preceding chapter.

Acquiring a Vocabulary. — Since language is the chief means of thought expression, it is obvious that the greater one's command over words, the better his equipment as a speaker. The poverty of the average school or college student's vocabulary is a matter of frequent remark. In order to speak or write clearly and interestingly, one needs a copious vocabulary. While the average speaker may not attain the copiousness of Shakespeare, he at least can, by the exercise of some care and method, gradually add to his stock of usable words. A fairly

large vocabulary is necessary, first, to enable one to express shades of meaning, and secondly, in order to avoid unnecessary word repetitions. The speaker must constantly seek for *the* word which expresses his exact meaning, and constant repetition of a few stock phrases will make any speech, though the subject-matter may be tolerable, seem feeble and childish.

By a "usable" vocabulary is meant those words that one is able to employ correctly. Almost every one has heard or read, and has an indefinite notion of, hundreds of words which he is not accustomed to use, and therefore words that are not really a part of his vocabulary. Could a boy of fifteen have ready for use all the words he has ever heard or seen, he would seldom be at a loss for an apt expression. Some method should therefore be employed by the intending speaker to improve his vocabulary. There are various ways of doing this. Form the habit, in the first place, of noting all new words found in reading. And in the study of model orations, note the oratorical words used, as well as oratorical forms. Effective orators, it will be found, have a fondness for words signifying largeness, power, action, color, words charged with emotion, picturesque and strong words, and apt epithets. Whenever new words are encountered, aim to use them, for only by using a word does it become part of one's vocabulary. "Use a new word accurately five times and it is yours."

Practice in writing, which will be more generally discussed later on, may be mentioned here as another

means of improving one's vocabulary. In speaking extemporaneously, although one may have carefully thought out his discourse, there is no time for the speaker to deliberate regarding synonyms, but he must use the words which come first to mind. In written composition, on the other hand, one may and always should take time to hunt up the word that best expresses a particular idea. Mere fluency may become despicable, but accuracy never. The average student, to be sure, cannot be expected to have the power over words possessed by the great masters of human speech, but every one can make reasonably sure that he knows what he means, and that he has found the right word to express his meaning. To employ "the aptest words in the aptest places" demands careful and persistent culture, and practice in writing is an important means to this end.

All authorities on rhetoric and oratory agree that a valuable means of vocabulary building is the translation of foreign languages. It is one of the best keys with which to unlock the treasures of our language. Perhaps in no other way can one acquire a thorough knowledge of English derivatives. And, too, the search for fit words to express foreign idioms, and the weighing of phrases to see which will give the nearest approach to the original, are a powerful aid in gaining command of synonyms. In this way, for example, did Cicero replenish his vocabulary from the Greek, and Lord Chesterfield from the French. Chatham turned and re-turned the pages of Demos-

thenes into English. William Pitt, his son, translated for years aloud to himself and to his tutor. Translation was likewise a lifelong practice with Mansfield, Brougham, Gladstone, Sumner, and Choate.

Finally, as an aid to vocabulary building, the intending speaker should cultivate the dictionary habit. A dictionary and a book of synonyms should be used, not merely for reference, but for study; not only to acquire new words, but also to facilitate accuracy in the use of words one already knows — or thinks he knows. Choate advises that the study of dictionaries and of books of synonyms is "a great fertilizer of language." It is said that Chatham studied a large dictionary, going through it twice, "examining each word attentively, dwelling on its various shades of meaning and modes of construction, thus endeavoring to bring the whole range of our noble and affluent language completely under his control." Webster also made the dictionary a constant study, — a fact which doubtless contributed in no small degree to the perfection of his diction.

Gathering Speech Material. — Again, on the score of general preparation, the orator should form the habit of accumulating a store of speech material which may be drawn upon for various subjects and occasions. He should learn to think as a speaker to a real or possible audience. One with a speaker's mind will make his reading, his meditations, his conversation, his observations of men and things, all contribute their quota of speech material. "I dined

with Burke and others at the Ton," writes a contemporary. "At dinner Burke was missed, and was found at a fishmonger's, learning the history of pickled salmon." "I do not believe that I ever met a man on the street," Beecher once said, "that I do not get from him some element for a sermon. I never see anything in nature which does not work toward that for which I give the strength of my life. The material for my sermons is all the time following me and swarming up around me."

In this connection, it is advisable to adopt some system of note taking; for next to knowing a thing is to know where to find it. No one can carry in memory all the data that sooner or later may be found useful, such as quotations, statistics, facts, and references to books and periodicals. The ancients labeled their commonplaces and *topica* for future use, and Emerson posted in notebooks his day's increment of thought, to be torn out and used when he needed it. The best system for this *index rerum*, no doubt, is the modern card catalogue. Let the notes be written on separate cards or stiff sheets of paper of uniform size, each marked with some appropriate catchword as a heading. A student would naturally have, for example, some such headings as: Education, Law, Politics, Government, Sociology, History, Biography, etc. Under the general heading of Speech Material would come such subheadings as Facts, Illustrations, Anecdotes, Figures of Speech, Words, etc. Topics for further headings will of course be added from

time to time, the system allowing ready revision and expansion. Another great recommendation of this method is, one may always have his notebook at hand by carrying with him a few cards or slips of paper. Some such system will aid wonderfully in furnishing a speaker with matter for ready reference which might otherwise be lost, or at any rate which could only be secured by the expenditure of far more time and labor than the card catalogue would require.

Practice in Writing.—No one can hope to attain the highest success in oratory without considerable practice—and the more the better—in reducing his thoughts to writing. Reference is now had not so much to the preparation of a particular speech as to preparation generally. Practice in written composition conduces to orderliness, accuracy, finish, and power over words. It also stimulates thought, for one can often think best with pen in hand. It is an incalculable benefit in style formation, correcting the looseness and inelegance of extempore speech. On this matter Cicero says:—

> Writing is the best and most excellent modeler and teacher of oratory; for if what is meditated and considered easily surpasses sudden and extemporary speech, a constant and diligent habit of writing will surely be of more effect than meditation and consideration themselves; since all the arguments relating to the subject present themselves while we examine and contemplate it, and all the thoughts and words, which are the most expressive of their kind, must of necessity come under the keenness of our judgment while writing. . . . No orator will ever attain the

highest success without long and continued practice in writing, however resolutely he may exercise himself in extemporary speeches; and he who comes to speak after practice in writing brings this advantage with him, that though he speak at the call of the moment, yet what he says will bear a resemblance to something written; and if ever, when he comes to speak, he brings anything with him in writing, the rest of his speech, when he departs from what is written, will flow on in a similar strain.[1]

As has been indicated, training in written composition is necessary, apart from the method of delivery employed upon a particular occasion. No doubt much useless discussion has been expended on the question of the best way of preparation for delivery; that is, whether a speaker should write out and memorize his speech in full, whether he should reproduce the substance, though not necessarily the exact form, of the manuscript, whether it should be memorized in part and in part extemporized, or whether he should speak wholly extempore,[2] with perhaps a brief outline. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages. With experience will naturally come increased power in extemporization. But there is no best method, for it is always relative to the individual speaker. An excellent exposition of the whole question is given in the following extract from an address by Phillips Brooks:—

With regard to the vexed question of written or unwritten sermons, I think it is a question whose importance has been

[1] *Oratory and Orators*, Bohn's translation, 180.

[2] This method is dealt with in the author's *Extempore Speaking*.

very much exaggerated. The different methods have their evident different advantages. In the written sermon the best part of the care is put in where it belongs, in the thought and construction of the discourse. There is deliberateness, there is the assurance of industry and the man's best work. There is self-restraint. There is some exemption from those foolish fluent things that slip so easily off the ready tongue. Whatever may be said about the duty of labor upon extemporaneous discourses, the advantage in point of faithfulness will no doubt always be with the written sermon. . . . On the other hand, the extemporaneous discourse has the advantage of alertness. It gives a sense of liveliness. It possesses more activity and warmth. Men have an admiration for it, as indicating a mastery of powers and an independence of artificial helps. A rough backwoodsman in Virginia heard Bishop Meade preach an extemporaneous sermon, and, being somewhat unfamiliar with the ways of the Episcopal Church, he said: "I like him. He is the first one of those petticoat fellows I ever saw that could shoot without a rest."

It is easy thus to characterize the two methods, but, when our characterizations are complete, what shall we say? Only two things, I think, and those so simple and so commonplace that it is strange that they should need to be said, but certainly they do. The first is that two such different methods must belong in general to two different kinds of men; that some men are made for manuscripts, and some for the open platform. . . . The other remark is that almost every man, in some proportion, may use both methods; that they help each other; that you will write better if you often speak without your notes, and you will speak better if you often give yourself the discipline of writing.[1]

In any event, whatever the method of delivery, almost any speech, when time permits, should be written

[1] *Lectures on Preaching*, 170–172.

out in advance; for the most thorough preparation possible is a duty the speaker owes himself, his subject, and his audience. Webster once said that he would as soon think of appearing before an audience half clothed as half prepared. True, there is a prejudice against the "cut-and-dried" speech, against the orator who "pours out fervors a week old." Hence the efforts of most speakers to hide the evidence of their previous preparation. But he who would do justice to himself and his audience must thoroughly study and understand his subject; he must accurately, and if possible minutely, digest in writing beforehand the substance and even the form of his address. In delivery he may take advantage, of course, of thoughts arising from the occasion and of ideas that spring unbidden to the lips. But he should not wander far from his prepared speech, and he is not apt to, as Cicero contends in the passage quoted above, if he has previously written it out in full.

Practice in Speaking. — Finally, as a part of the general education of the orator, it is a truism to remark that the intending speaker should practice speaking. While the matter of delivery is not within the scope of this book, it is alluded to here for completeness of classification. Practice in oral expression must supplement practice in writing. If the first efforts of the student can be directed along right lines, under the guidance of a competent critic, so much the better; but anyhow, as Brougham once wrote for the benefit of young Macaulay, let "him first of all learn

to speak, as well and as sensibly as he can, but let him learn to speak." Amateur public speaking may, it is true, be quite as trying an ordeal to the hearers as it is to the speaker; but practice is, after all, the only way to acquire confidence, readiness, and fluency. Bishop Simpson, addressing himself to the intending preacher, says: "To attain the highest power in direct address, practice is absolutely essential. If you ask how and when you shall begin, I answer, the first chance you have, and, if possible, before a small audience. There is certainly some risk; but don't stand shivering on the brink — plunge in at once. Gilbert Stuart, in answer to a question as to how young artists are to commence their subjects, is reported to have said, 'Just as puppies are taught to swim — chuck them in.'" Henry Clay's testimony and advice are confirmatory and encouraging: "I owe my success in life to one single fact, namely, at the age of twenty-seven I commenced, and continued for years, the process of daily reading and speaking upon the contents of some historical or scientific book. These offhand efforts were made sometimes in a cornfield, at others in the forest, and not unfrequently in some distant barn, with the horse and ox for my auditors. It is to this early practice in the art of all arts that I am indebted to the primary and leading impulses that stimulated me forward, and shaped and molded my entire destiny. Improve, then, young gentlemen, the superior advantages you enjoy. Let not a day pass without exercising your powers of speech."

EXERCISES

1. Let the students point out what knowledge would be required adequately to treat a given subject. (See Appendix B.)

2. Let each student bring to class some quotation, simile, story, or anecdote, and show how it might be used in a given address.

3. For an exercise in vocabulary building, let students distinguish between the meanings of words in each of the following groups: —

Able, qualified; acceptance, acceptation; access, accession; admire, like, love; affect, effect; aggravate, irritate; almost, most; alone, only; alternative, choice; among, between; angry, mad; assert, contend; avocation, vocation; atone for, condone; adverse, hostile; backward, reluctant; bad, baneful, pernicious; balance, remainder, rest; banter, badinage, derision; bear, sustain, maintain; beautiful, handsome, lovely; becoming, comely, decorous; beginning, commencement, inception; bestow, confer, grant; blamable, censurable, reprehensible; blend, mingle, amalgamate; border, margin, verge; brave, dauntless, valiant; brevity, terseness; bring, fetch; burlesque, farce, travesty; by and by, presently, anon; calling, profession, occupation; can, may; chance, fortune, casualty; character, reputation, repute; coincidence, concurrence, agreement; colossal, immense, cyclopean; combination, alliance, cabal; complement, compliment; completeness, completion; comprehend, conceive, apprehend; compulsion, coercion; condolence, pity, compassion; continual, continuous; council, counsel; custom, habit; cynical, sarcastic; damage, detriment; death, demise; debt, liability, obligation; deceitful, fallacious, fraudulent; definite, definitive; delusion, illusion, hallucination; decided, decisive; depot, station; discovery, invention; duty, obligation; effect, result; emigration, immigration; engagement, promise; enormity, enormousness; expect, suppose, suspect; expedient, desirable, necessary; fate, destiny; fear, consternation; find, locate; hanged, hung; happen, transpire; healthful, healthy; hire, lease, let; last, latest; lay, lie; learn, teach; lend, loan; magnitude, bulk, bigness; majestic, sublime, pompous; majority, plurality; much, plente-

ous, copious; nation, realm, commonwealth; new, fresh, modern; nor, or; notorious, noted; nutriment, food, pabulum; observance, observation; obvious, evident, patent; occupation, profession, business; occurrence, event, incident; ornate, elegant; ordinance, law, statute; oust, expel, eject; owner, possessor; part, portion; party, person; passion, emotion, affection; peculator, defaulter, embezzler; pendent, pendulous, suspended; plaudit, applause; plead, argue, discuss; plight, predicament, dilemma; practicable, practical; precise, explicit, punctilious; propose, purpose; quibble, equivocate; quixotic, chimerical; quotation, citation, extract; rapidity, celerity, velocity; real, actual, genuine; recapitulate, repeat, enumerate; reason, judgment, understanding; recent, fresh, novel; residue, rest; resident, occupant, inhabitant; revert, return, recur; rustic, rural, countrified; set, sit; sewage, sewerage; shall, will; significance, signification; sinister, evil; slander, libel; some, somewhat; spectator, observer, witness; speech, oration, harangue; stalwart, brave, resolute; statue, statute; stay, stop; summary, abstract, epitome; superficial, shallow, flimsy; surplus, excess; synonymous, identical, tantamount; task, work, toil; think, guess, reckon; testimony, evidence, proof; thought, idea, cogitation; together, conjointly, concurrently; trade, traffic, commerce; transient, transitory, evanescent; trouble, misfortune, calamity; umbrage, resentment; unless, without; urge, impel, importune; value, worth, price; verdict, judgment, decision; voluntary, unconstrained; want, need, indigence; witty, facetious, humorous; zealot, fanatic, devotee.

Other and more extended word lists can, of course, be secured from various sources. Campbell's *Handbook of Synonyms* (Lee & Shepard, Boston) is a handy volume for class use.

CHAPTER VI

THE WRITING OF AN ORATION

You have an oration to deliver upon a given occasion. Assuming there is ample time for preparation, what is the best way to go about it? The question involves these four steps: (1) choosing a subject, (2) gathering material, (3) constructing a plan, or outline, and (4) the composition.

Choosing a Subject. — Many occasions, as in forensic and deliberative oratory, will of course provide their own subjects. But supposing the choice is left to the speaker, how shall the decision be reached? It must be admitted that the problem is a real one. The ever recurring question, "What subject shall I choose?" involves no little trouble for both students and teachers. It is frequently a problem also with experienced speakers. Mr. Balfour, for some time leader of the House of Commons, thus voices the difficulty in an address delivered at the University of St. Andrews, December 10, 1887: —

> I will confess to you at the outset that I have been much embarrassed in the selection of a subject. A Rectorial Address might, so I was informed, be about anything. But this "anything" is too apt, upon further investigation, to

resolve itself into nothing. Some topics are too dull. Some are too controversial. Some interest only the few. Some are too great a strain upon the speaker who has to prepare them. Some too severely tax the patience of the audience which has to listen to them. And I confess to have been much perplexed in my search for a topic on which I could say something to which you would have patience to listen, or on which I might find it profitable to speak.[1]

In this extract Mr. Balfour touches upon certain classes of subjects to be avoided. Putting these points in affirmative form, and expanding them a little, we may deduce the following rules: —

(1) *Choose a subject of personal import to you.* This rule is comprehended in the very idea of oratory. If you expect to convince and persuade your audience, you must yourself have convictions and feelings regarding your subject. The choice of a subject, then, involves the answers to such questions as: In what am I interested? What do I know or think or feel about it? What is the purpose of this speech? What do I hope to accomplish by it? What reason is there for my speaking at all? And unless a satisfactory answer can be given to each of these questions, you may know that you are on the wrong track. In other words, a speaker must have, as we say, a *message;* and there is no reason why this may not be the case even with the school or college student, provided only he will confine his efforts within the range of his own study and thought. That

[1] Reed, *Modern Eloquence*, VII, 50.

is, the choice of a subject is an individual matter. If it is to be of personal import to you, a teacher cannot select or even suggest a subject without first asking such preliminary test questions as above. So, while we speak of choosing a subject, the subject will often, as it were, choose you. The thoughts and feelings of a great orator reach our minds and hearts because they issue from his. When a flabby-minded young preacher, who had discoursed in old Dr. Emmons's pulpit, and angling for a compliment, complained to the doctor, "I somehow couldn't get into my subject to-day," he was met by the caustic reply: "Do you know the reason, sir? It is because your subject never got into you." "I go to hear Rowland Hill," said Sheridan, "because his ideas *come red hot from the heart.*" If the student will take only those subjects that bear to him a sense of personal import, he will, at the outset, put himself in the attitude, not of thinking of something to say, but of saying what he has thought. In his eulogy of Garfield, Blaine speaks of a trip to the South which the President had contemplated making, and thus describes the purpose of each of three speeches which had been planned: —

He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the associations of a hundred years that bound the South and the North in the sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and

independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instincts of self-interest and self-defense. At Chattanoóga he would revive memories of the war only to show that after all its disaster and all its suffering the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation, made brighter and better for all.

(2) *Choose a subject that possesses some elements of interest and freshness.* A subject must be one, not only of personal import, of individual interest to a speaker, it must also be of interest to the audience; for unless the hearers' interest can be secured, the speaker's efforts are futile. While this is obvious, and is universally recognized by speakers, it is by no means universally followed. Audiences are constantly bored by the most inappropriate themes. It therefore behooves the speaker, while not neglecting the other requirements of a good subject, to determine in advance, as nearly as may be, just what his audience will be interested in. Now the element of interest is an exceedingly variable quantity. What is absorbing to one audience would be dull to another; what is interesting at one time is not at another. Interest in certain political questions may be keenly alive in November, and dead by the following March; a topic which would engage the attention of a college assembly might be of no interest to the patrons of a popular lecture course. In short, the matter of selecting an interesting subject is simply one phase of the general problem of adaptability.

A special effort should be made to avoid hackneyed subjects. Interest cannot be hoped for in matters which hearers have heard discussed over and over again. In this connection, it may be noted that there are two general classes of subjects for public speech: first, subjects that will furnish us with new ideas, leading the mind into unexplored paths of knowledge and thought; secondly, subjects that will serve to collect and embody what we already know, the treatment of which will serve to revivify and rivet old impressions. A subject in the first class is of course desirable, though difficult, and can hardly be possible with the average student. But if a speaker cannot be absolutely original, let him at least be as original as he can. Let him work out his subject from a new point of view, throw some side lights upon it, and so introduce in it a certain amount of freshness. Though the topic may be familiar, aim for an unfamiliar way of presentation. Thus there may be embodied in the treatment of a familiar subject "an original impulse," as Dr. van Dyke puts it, "not necessarily a new idea, but a new sense of the value of an idea." In the introduction of his Cooper Union speech, Lincoln said: "The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation." It is this novelty, this

freshness, which the student must aim to secure. Take such subjects as "Ambition," "The True, the Beautiful, and the Good," "The Value of an Education," "Honesty is the Best Policy": whatever other objections might be urged, these subjects have a forbidding suggestion of staleness. There are, of course, many subjects in the fields of ethics and religion that are old yet ever new — in Kipling's phrase, "as old as Cain, as fresh as yesterday." This because they embody eternal truths — truths of perennial interest and importance, applicable and demanding presentation to each generation. Yet, even so, the endeavor should always be to give the treatment a flavor of freshness, to select a new viewpoint. Take, for example, "Character." On this subject no one could hope to say anything new. But were a student to speak on "The Opportunities for Character Building afforded by this School," an aspect of newness and freshness is secured.

(3) *Choose a subject adapted to your audience.* This rule, already touched upon, is one that is constantly violated, even by speakers of experience. It should be noted that a subject may be interesting, and yet lack adaptability on other grounds. It may be of such a nature as to render it impossible of adequate treatment within the time allowed. Again, it might be of interest to a given audience, yet could not be made really comprehensible to that audience. In these and other ways the speaker might fail to fit his subject to his audience.

(4) *Choose a subject which you are capable of handling.* The adaptability of a subject applies to the speaker no less than to his audience. Whatever ideas and convictions one has, or thinks he has, regarding a certain subject, he should avoid what is outside the scope of his powers. This rule may not always be capable of application with absolute certainty in advance, but the exercise of some discretion and common sense would surely eliminate from school and college oratory a large number of favorite subjects. Students are fond of essaying something that sounds big and grand. Weighty subjects, which men of far more wisdom and experience would hesitate to deal with in a two hours' discourse, youthful enthusiasts assume to treat and solve in fifteen or twenty minutes. But the treatment, such as it is, can never be much more than a compilation of other men's thoughts and words. The production may be successful as a recitation, but that is all, for it is wholly lacking in the elements necessary for conviction and persuasion. Let the student, instead of attempting something beyond him, look rather within to see if he is not master of some field which for him would be more appropriate than any other. Now there are plenty of subjects within every man's capacity on which he can speak with intelligence and confidence. Take the college student, for example. There are certain classes of subjects which he will naturally know something about, subjects which he would be expected — and this is an important consideration — to know

something about. Instead of the profound, big, grand subjects, suppose he were to deal with such questions as coeducation, the influence of the elective system on college life, the educational and moral effects of college politics, the good and evil in college fraternities, or the duty of the educated man as a citizen. The average aspirant for oratorical honors in a college contest would probably at once dismiss such subjects as beneath his notice. He would rather speak of "the message of the ages" — concerning which he is too young to know anything, and which might do for a book written at fifty years of age. The subject of the typical college oration is apt to be as grand and broad as the heavens, and to this type not infrequently also belongs, alas, the "winning" oration. Hence the recent reaction against the formal oratorical contests. As largely carried on, they afford worse than no training for real life, for the orations usually delivered are, in the words of Professor Baker, of Harvard, "unreal and unindividual."

(5) *Choose a subject adapted to the purposes of conviction and persuasion.* In other words, choose a subject that lends itself to the purposes of oratory. On first thought this rule may appear so self-evident as hardly to need mentioning, but experience shows that students constantly violate it. A subject may conform to all the preceding rules, and still be unsuitable for an oration, though it might be excellent for an essay, or even for a lecture. If oratory be the art of persuasion, obviously a subject must offer persuasive

possibilities. There must be a cause worthy to enlist the energies of the soul. You cannot rise to oratory on the subject of peanuts. You may have an instructive and interesting address, but no oration. We must come back to the basic distinctions made in Chapter I. Oratory always implies that the speaker desires his audience to adopt a certain line of conduct or action. It implies that in the accomplishment of this purpose the speaker must overcome opposition, be it only indifference or inertia. Hence the test question always is, "Of what do I wish to convince or persuade my hearers?" And if there be no clear or satisfactory answer to this question, you may know that your proposed subject is not adapted for an oration. One may have, of course, a subject within a subject, that is, a title may be one thing and the subject another; but so far as is indicated by the phrasing, the first of each of the following duplicate subjects would be adapted for an essay, the second for an oration: The Value of Forests to our Country — Ways of Preventing the Destruction of our Forests; Chinese and Japanese Immigration to the United States — Our Chinese Exclusion Laws should be extended to the Japanese; World Expositions — The Educational Value of World Expositions; The Evolution of our Modern Industrial System — Should the Traditional Idea of Industrial Competition be abandoned?

(6) *Choose a single, definite subject.* The violation of this rule is one of the most glaring faults of

the usual school or college oration. The average student does not seem to appreciate at all that no speaker has time, in the period usually allotted him, to develop more than one specific phase of a topic. So, instead of developing one distinct idea, the student is apt to touch lightly — and therefore limply — upon every possible phase, to the sacrifice of unity, coherence, and pointedness. Avoid subjects that are too broad. Some one has remarked that the typical oration of the schools "begins with the Garden of Eden, spreads out over the universe, and ends nowhere." In response to a toast on "The Mississippi Valley," "Private" John Allen, of Mississippi, said, in part: —

> This is a broad subject. It reminds me a good deal of a man I heard deliver an address down in my country one night. He said: "Ladies and gentlemen, as I came to your beautiful city this evening, some of your citizens very kindly invited me to deliver an address to-night, and as I came down to the hall I thought upon what subject I should address you, and there just occurred to me the small subject of 'The Past, the Present, and the Future.'" The Mississippi Valley is almost as extensive as his subject. It reminds me of what the negro said about preaching. Somebody asked him if he was a preacher, and he said, "No, I am just an exhorter." "What's the difference between preaching and exhorting?" He says, "There's a great deal of difference. In preaching you must take a text and stick to it, but in exhorting you can branch." Now, when you come to the Mississippi Valley, you can branch.[1]

But to achieve a result, avoid a subject which offers

[1] *Oratory of the South*, 184.

the temptation to branch. Persuasion implies a purpose in speaking, and the most effective persuasion implies singleness of purpose. Consider the indefiniteness and breadth in such subjects as, "Woman the Conservator of the Good," "Perseverance as a Factor in the World's Progress." The student who chooses for a subject, "Every Cloud has a Silvery Lining," or "Over the Alps lies Italy," will usually find that he has been caught by something that sounds well, and that he has no definite idea, sentiment, or conviction moving him to speech. So, such vast subjects as Education, Literature, Freedom, or Democracy may seem inviting on first thought, but further investigation will prove how elusive is a general subject and how confusing the result of its attempted treatment. Remember, again, that any speech worth while must leave some *definite impress*. Do not be content simply to say "something about" a subject. Instead of lightly touching upon a dozen topics, develop one distinct idea — conceive some one point *and make it*. You will find in oratorical masterpieces little encouragement for the use of general subjects, with the resulting copiousness, diffuseness, and "glittering generalities." The speeches of those men who have moved audiences and molded public opinion have always been characterized by definiteness and singleness of purpose.

To illustrate how a general subject may be narrowed to a definite theme, let us imagine the process of exclusion and selection by which George

William Curtis arrived at the theme of his address at the commencement of Union College, in 1877. It being an academic occasion, something would naturally suggest itself in the field of Education. But that is too broad. Then such topics arise as Liberal, Classical, or Scientific Training; for scholars, for business men, for citizens; for the few, for the many; in relation to the individual, to the home, and to government. Out of this range of subjects within a subject, a concrete idea becomes embodied in the relation a liberally educated man should sustain to his duties as a citizen. So the theme is finally arrived at, in Curtis's own words, as follows: —

> The theme of to-day seems to me to be prescribed by the occasion. It is the festival of the departure of a body of educated young men into the world. This company of picked recruits marches out with beating drums and flying colors to join the army. We who feel that our fate is gracious which allowed a liberal training, are here to welcome and to advise. On your behalf, Mr. President and Gentlemen, with your authority, and with all my heart, I shall say a word to them and to you of the public duty of educated men in America.[1]

(7) *As a general rule, narrow your subject to a single phase.* To choose a single, simple subject is only a good beginning, for even such a subject will rarely permit of really exhaustive treatment — of saying everything about it that might be said; and an attempt to treat all possible phases must result in a failure thoroughly to treat any one phase, and so to violate

[1] *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, 193.

the laws of unity and of emphasis. The speaker should therefore confine himself to one section of his subject, or in any case, to one at a time, and *make his point.* This is ordinarily the hardest lesson for the student to learn. The amateur's oration usually represents an attempt to swallow the subject whole, and to make his audience do the same. Generalities and broad assertions are followed by perfervid appeals for his hearers to feel this or to do that, whereas the hearers only feel that the speaker has failed to make out his case. Thus we come back again to the fundamental law that emotional appeals must be based on appeals to the understanding. A subject must be treated in such a way as to help the hearers to see definitely the real nature of the thing considered, and if action be demanded, to show them practical and legitimate methods of action that will lead to the ends proposed. And such treatment cannot be had with a multiplication of topics; all points are lost when no one point is driven home. The discovery of truth step by step and one step at a time is the rule for the average understanding, and hence for the average audience.

Gathering Material. — Given an oratorical subject embodying a single, definite purpose, of personal import to the speaker, and adapted both to his audience and to his own abilities, the next step is to collate the subject-matter. But this does not mean proceeding at once to discover what others have said on the subject. Before searching for the thoughts of others, let the speaker first take an inventory of his own

thoughts. Such preliminary thinking is absolutely essential to stamp a discourse with any degree of originality or individuality. In reading, too, — and most subjects necessitate more or less reading, — independent thought is necessary; that is, reading should not be made a substitute for thinking. Any discourse worth listening to must always be the result of first-hand thought and study of the subject and material. On this matter, the words of Dr. Blair regarding the preparation of a sermon apply equally as well to all kinds of addresses: —

> When a preacher sits down to write on any subject, never let him begin with seeking to consult all who have written on the same text, or subject. This, if he consult many, will throw perplexity and confusion into his ideas; and, if he consult only one, will often warp him insensibly into his method, whether it be right or not. But let him begin with pondering the subject in his own thoughts; let him endeavor to fetch materials from within; to collect and arrange his ideas; and form some sort of a plan to himself. . . . Then, and not till then, he may inquire how others have treated the same subject. By this means, the method and the leading thoughts in the sermon are likely to be his own. These thoughts he may improve, by comparing them with the track of sentiments which others have pursued; some of their sense he may, without blame, incorporate into his own composition, retaining always his own words and style. This is fair assistance: all beyond is plagiarism.[1]

If independent thinking precedes, accompanies, and follows the search for material, the much-mooted question of originality need cause no serious trouble.

[1] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 325.

In knowledge and ideas we are heirs of all the preceding ages; and perhaps the only originality to-day possible is that of rearranging and recombining old material. Our ideas are for the most part borrowed, and oftentimes unconsciously. Lowell thus states the whole case:—

> While you thought 'twas you thinking as newly
> As Adam still wet with God's dew,
> You forgot in your self-pride that truly
> The whole Past was thinking through you. . . .
> . . . A thought's his who kindles new youth in it
> Or so puts it as makes it more true. . . .
> And we men through our old bit of song run,
> Until one just improves on the rest,
> And we call a thing his, in the long run,
> Who utters it clearest and best.[1]

The orator, therefore, must be both a discoverer and an inventor. He may betimes discover some new truth, or at least one new to his audience. But ordinarily his work consists in inventing new combinations of old truths; of presenting a larger revelation of a truth hitherto but partly perceived; of bringing into strong relief a fact, trait, or tendency of which his hearers may have been dimly conscious, but have passed by unheeded. Originality in composition is practically a question of form, not of substance. In gathering material by reading, then, adopt, if you please, the matter, but not (unless quoted directly) the form; pass the matter through the crucible of your own mind; remold it into other and

[1] *Works*, IV, 197: "Heartsease and Rue."

individual forms of expression, — in short, make it your own.

The nature and amount of reading required in a given case will, of course, vary with the subject. Some subjects will demand considerable reading, others comparatively little. In any case, the order in which the investigation proceeds is a matter of no little importance. Almost any subject will require more or less consultation of authorities to get the facts. These should be sought first for the groundwork of the discourse. Then consult books and articles on the *general* subject rather than on the particular phase you are treating. Matter bearing directly on the particular topic in hand should be examined last of all. It is best to avoid reading an article or oration on your subject until after the first draft of your discourse is completed. Then another's treatment may be consulted for suggestions as to organization and style. But to read first another's direct treatment is destructive of originality; it is very apt to make your discourse a mere compilation or paraphrase.

In the process of gathering material, economy of time and labor will be secured by adopting some system in taking notes. In the first place, your first-hand knowledge and ideas regarding your subject may well be incorporated in a tentative outline of a proposed plan of treatment. Then your card catalogue, as recommended in the preceding chapter, would naturally be consulted for any facts, ideas, and refer-

ences it may contain. The notes on matter found by reading should be taken on cards or paper of uniform size, the notes on each slip being confined to a single topic, so that when the final outline of the discourse is decided upon, the notes may be readily assorted and marked to correspond with the headings in such outline.

Constructing a Plan, or Outline. — With the purpose of the discourse definitely formulated, a subject embodying such purpose, and material at hand for its treatment, it might naturally seem that the next step is to proceed at once to write out in full what is to be said, in such order as the thoughts come. But this by no means follows. When a master builder proceeds to construct a house, he does not think of laying the foundations even until he knows what sort of a house is desired. Nor does he attempt to put together such material as may be lying about in the order in which it may come to hand. Much less does he try to fit the plan and dimensions of the house to the accumulated material. On the contrary, the builder has before him a plan of the house as a whole, and also of the main divisions, apartments, and stories of even the plainest and simplest structure; and he then proceeds to fit the material to the structure designed, — this piece of timber for a foundation sill, that one for a corner post, another for a rafter, and so on. And so must the construction of an oration proceed in accordance with some definite plan. Out of a medley of ideas, facts, reasons, senti-

ments, relevant and irrelevant, only those serviceable for one's purpose are to be chosen, and all material must be arranged with a view of its proper order and place. Such arranging of material, or plan making, in advance of any attempt at finished composition, has been insisted upon by every writer upon the art of public speech, from Corax, the ancient Greek rhetorician, to the present day. An outline or "brief" of the discourse will save much ill-directed, haphazard, and wasted labor in the work of composition. It is necessary for securing sequence, clearness, unity, and proportion.

First, then, an outline conduces to an orderly arrangement. The best oratory is not meditation, rumination, or monologue; it is organized, methodically arranged thought, having a purpose to accomplish by the most effective disposition of the material at hand. As previously shown, the grand divisions of a discourse will naturally follow in the order of introduction, discussion, and conclusion. As to the ordering of material within each of these divisions, no rule can be laid down for every discourse. Any one of several plans may be adopted, so that it is only one, and not two or three. Narrative matter should be presented in the order of events, argument should proceed from evidence to conclusions, appeals to the feelings should always follow reasoning, and all should follow in the order of climax. On the score of clearness, the writing of an outline will serve to show at a glance whatever may be obscure, dim,

or confused; and with relation to unity and proportion, the outlined plan will insure in advance satisfactory answers to such questions as, "Does this point bear directly on my theme?" or, "Am I giving too much space to this division?"

It is possible, of course, to carry the plan of a discourse in mind while writing, but for the student, at least, it should be reduced to writing. This for the purpose of making it clear and definite both to himself and to a critic. As to form, group main and subordinate headings under introduction, discussion, and conclusion, respectively. Indicate headings by a uniform system of numbering or lettering, and by indentation of subheadings, so that the correlation may be readily seen. And whatever practice may be followed in simpler forms of composition, *the headings for an oration outline should be complete sentences.* This, again, for the sake of greater clearness and definiteness both for the writer and the critic. A sentence usually means something, and it is pretty sure to mean more than a mere catchword or phrase.

By way of recapitulation, the points to be considered in constructing the outline are: (1) What will constitute a fitting introduction? (2) What facts or explanations regarding your subject should be presented, in order that the hearers may the more readily follow the subsequent treatment? (3) What is the purpose of the speech — the central idea? This may or may not be formally stated in the speech itself, but should always be present in the writer's mind in the

plan making. (4) What points or propositions are to be put forward to support the central idea? These points will constitute the body of the discussion. They should be comprehensive, distinct, few in number, and logically arranged in order of climax. Remember, again, that two or three leading points or propositions which the hearers may afterwards recall are far better than fifteen or twenty which will be forgotten in an hour. (5) At what points in the address may emotional appeals be properly introduced? (6) What will be a suitable and effective conclusion? Shall it be a summary, or an appeal, or both?

The Composition. — The plan of the speech being duly outlined, the speaker is now ready to expand it into a finished discourse. This involves, of course, the various matters of structure, style, etc., discussed in this and preceding chapters. Referring now to two or three supplementary topics, and also adverting to certain cardinal principles previously considered, the work of composition embraces the following rules and suggestions: —

(1) *Write as you would talk, with the audience always in mind.* If the speech-writer observes this rule strictly, it will protect him from many pitfalls of style. The best orations *talk.* And this implies that the audience must be constructively present to the writer, just as it must be actually present to the speaker. Addressing Yale divinity students on the writing of sermons, Phillips Brooks said: —

The main difference in sermons is that some sermons are, and other sermons are not, conscious of an audience. The main question about sermons is whether they feel their hearers. If they do, they are enthusiastic, personal, and warm. If they do not, they are calm, abstract, and cold. But that consciousness of an audience is something that may come into the preacher's study; and if it does, his sermon springs with the same personalness and fervor there which it would get if he made it in the pulpit with the multitude before him. . . . As you preach old sermons, I think you can always tell, even if the history of them is forgotten, which of them you wrote enthusiastically, with your people vividly before you. The fire is in them still.[1]

(2) *Clear and vigorous expression is born of clear and vigorous thought.* You cannot hope to make clear to an audience what is hazy and indefinite in your own mind. "Partial conception," says Ruskin, "is no conception." The masterpieces of oratory will always show that the speaker saw clearly the salient features of his subject and marshaled them in progress to defined results. When a student complains that he has thoughts too big for words, or that he 'knows what he wants to say but can't say it,' this means simply the clouded, muddy impressions that come from indistinct, inactive, inattentive senses. He who cannot speak his mind precisely has no mind precisely. Thoughts are always communicable with clearness if the writer's senses are attending to the business in hand — "if we do not," as Quintilian says, "lolling at our ease, looking at the ceiling, and

[1] *Lectures on Preaching*, 172.

trying to kindle our invention by muttering to ourselves, wait for what may present itself; but, observing what the nature of the occasion is and what the subject requires, set ourselves to write like reasonable men; for thus Nature herself will supply us not only with a commencement, but with what ought to follow."

In the act of writing, then, the speaker's mind and emotions must be keenly alive. The best things in any speech are those struck off at white heat. And if force and movement are to be secured, the composition, once it is taken up, should move along, just as the speech must when it is delivered. Overniceties of expression, therefore, excessive care for the style as distinct from the thought, may well be disregarded in the first draft; these matters may receive the attention they deserve in the more leisurely process of revision. Do not, for example, ponder and linger unduly over the introduction. Just as the scoring of a racehorse counts for nothing in the race proper, an experimental or provisional introduction, which may later be discarded, is often quite as well for the send-off. Then come to the discussion, have the purpose of your speech ever in mind and aim directly at it. Composing under the impetus of an impelling purpose conduces not only to movement and force, but also to the use of an attractive diction — vernacular words and home-bred idioms. Regarding the composition of a sermon, Henry Ward Beecher says: —

Above all other men, the preacher should avoid what may be called a literary style, as distinguished from a natural one; and by a "literary style," technically so called, I understand one in which abound these two elements, — the artificial structure of sentences, and the use of words and phrases peculiar to literature alone, and not to common life. . . . Never be grandiloquent when you want to drive home a searching truth. Don't whip with a switch that has the leaves on if you want to tingle. A good fireman will send the water through as short and straight hose as he can. . . . It is a foolish and unwise ambition to introduce periphrastic or purely literary terms where they can possibly be avoided. Go right ahead. Don't run round for your meaning. Long sentences may be good, but not *twisting* ones. Many otherwise good sermons are useless because they don't get on. They go round and round and round, and always keep coming back to the same place.[1]

(3) *Follow the outline while writing.* Much trouble may be avoided if the writer holds himself closely to his written plan. The outline is really a part of the work of composition; it is the preliminary sketch or prospectus of the speech, and the best results follow from making the completed composition simply an amplification of the outline. Just as the traveler can best find his way through an unexplored country by the use of a map, so the writer can best discover and follow his proper course through the thought-region to be explored by following his written sketch. The outline, if well constructed, is based on the purpose, the underlying idea, of the speech; and its main divisions, arranged with reference to the laws of associa-

[1] *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, I, 229.

tion, unity, and sequence, are all referable to a single proposition — the underlying idea. The speaker, like the traveler, has a particular point to reach — the purpose of his journey. There may be two or three ways to reach it; naturally he will choose the most direct way practicable; in any event, whichever course is decided upon, he will never think of going to some other point, nor, having once started on a certain course, of changing to another. To digress to side paths is not only a waste of time and energy, but one thus runs the risk of getting lost and never reaching his objective point. Even experienced writers know the danger of digression, the ramifying tendencies of the suggestions and cogitations which come while writing. Indeed, a large part of the discipline of composition is in the constant checking of a straying mind. And herein lies the great value of the outline, — it tells the writer when he is progressing directly, and when he is off the main track.

But what, it may be asked, of the after thoughts, the thoughts that come while writing? If they help in perfecting the plan of the speech, incorporate them, revising the outline accordingly. But all after thoughts that do not properly belong in the general plan, however valuable in themselves, should be rigorously excluded.

After writing the first draft of the oration comes the work of correction. This may well be done, as has been suggested, with more deliberation than is desirable in the first writing. In advising that the

first draft of an oration should be composed with some such degree of energy and movement as is desirable in the finished discourse, it is not to be inferred that a creditable speech is the product of sudden inspiration. A good oration, like most good things, is the result of growth. Relatively more time, however, should usually be devoted to gathering material, plan making, and correcting than to the first writing of the discourse in full. As to the work of revising, few suggestions of any real practical value can be given in advance; and yet the process of correcting is no small part of the work of composition, for perfection of form can only be wrought out by patient labor. Says Quintilian:—

> Of correction there are three ways: to add, to take away, and to alter. In regard to what is to be added or taken away, the decision is comparatively easy and simple; but to compress what is tumid, to raise what is low, to prune what is luxuriant, to regulate what is ill-arranged, to circumscribe what is extravagant, is a twofold task; for we must reject things that had pleased us, and find out others that had escaped us. Undoubtedly, also, the best method for correction is to lay by for a time what we have written, so that we may return to it, after an interval, as if it were something new to us, and written by another, lest our writings, like newborn infants, compel us to fix our affections on them.

In passing in review upon the final form of his oration, the writer must apply all such test questions as: Does the treatment of my subject sustain a single point of view? Does it all bear on the purpose I have in mind, and is the main contention made per-

fectly clear? Is there unity in the main divisions and in the oration as a whole? Do the points follow each other in natural and logical order? Does the thought proceed right onward to my object? Is there too much or too little space given to such and such a point? Is there sufficient echo of the thought as it is developed, and are the transitions smooth and natural? Where can I secure greater emphasis by making the expression more concise, or by expanding with a concrete statement, a contrast, or a comparison? At what places is the expression weak, or limp, or tame, and how can I make it more striking? Can a more direct form of discourse be used at this point? Does the style possess movement, variety, and energy? Do the sentences have euphony and cadence — do they *speak* well? Are emotional appeals sane, practical, in good taste, and based on sound reasoning? Is the speech pointed? Will it leave a definite impress? And does the conclusion embody and reënforce the underlying idea of the speech as a whole? — for the point, the purpose, is after all the main thing. Remember that a good speech consists in the presentation of a truth existing in the speaker's mind and heart as a definite message for his audience, such message being embodied in a clear and sound array of facts, ideas, and appeals that are composed and delivered under the impetus and guidance of clear conception, deep conviction, and strong feeling.

EXERCISES

1. Criticise the following oration subjects, taken from school and college programmes: —

The Unity of Law; Municipal Problems; The Golden Age of our Republic; The Occident and the Orient; The Effect of Christianity on the Civilization of the World; America's Providential Origin and Destiny; The Pacific Cruise of our Battleships; The Heart, the Source of Power; The World's Conquerors; The Evolution of Government; Labor and Capital; Optimism and Pessimism; William E. Gladstone.

2. Let each student prepare and submit in writing, the teacher criticising and suggesting at each stage of the work, (1) bibliography and notes on at least one subject (see Appendix B), (2) the outline plan of treatment, (3) the first draft of the composition, and (4) the revised copy.

3. Criticise the following outlines, written by students: —

(*a*) *Subject:* "The Typical Student."

INTRODUCTION

1. General Opinion of a Student.
2. My Contention.

BODY

1. Intellectual Training.
2. Physical Training.
3. Social Training.
4. Political Training.
5. Literary Training.

CONCLUSION

General Summary.

(*b*) *Subject:* "The University Education in After Life."

1. Leadership of Educated Men.
2. The Attorney.
3. The Physician.
4. The Business Man.

5. The Educated Man.
6. A Consideration of this School.
   a. Brief historical sketch.
   b. Standing in the educational world.

(*c*) *Subject:* "Robert E. Lee and the Hall of Fame."

INTRODUCTION

1. Why the subject is of interest.
2. A brief history of the movement to place Lee's statue in the Hall of Fame.
3. Those opposing the movement had no possible justification for their course.
4. What are we to understand by "fame"?

DISCUSSION

1. Lee is entitled to enduring fame.
   a. As a soldier.
   b. As a patriot.
   c. As a man.
   d. He is universally recognized as a great man.
2. His fame deserves national recognition.
   a. Prior to the Civil War he was loyal to the United States from patriotic motives.
   b. He was loyal to the cause of the South from like motives.
   c. To deny him national recognition now is only to say that a certain constitutional interpretation regarding the power of the States is treason to the United States.

CONCLUSION

1. Lee was denied a place in the Hall of Fame.
2. Compared with others who have been admitted.
3. Let the South have a Hall of Fame of her own.

4. Discuss with the class the merits and possible faults of the specimens of college oratory that follow (Appendix A).

APPENDIX A

SPECIMEN COLLEGE ORATIONS

THE MODERN TENDENCIES OF AMERICAN ATHLETICS

WILLIAM W. TAYLOR

OF THE BROOKLYN (NEW YORK) BAR

The winning oration in the contest of the Central Oratorical League, held at Ohio Wesleyan University, May 11, 1906, the author representing Cornell University.

THE present stage of American development has often been termed one of materialism, and we, as present-day Americans, are under indictment for being a nation of money-makers. It is too true that in these days there is going on a struggle for material wealth and there are many men engaged unremittingly and unrelentingly in its accumulation; yet I do not believe that it is the desire for money in and of itself, that drives them on. The struggle going on is, indeed, ostensibly for money, but it is the joy of battle and the love of accomplishment that impels us. We struggle for everything in this country, — we scramble up the social ladder, we make a hurried swallow of education, we push and pull in politics. In short, achievement is the keynote of American life. But in our great desire to achieve, and in our great hurry to attain results, we are losing sight of the relative values of these same results. We are tending to put the act of achievement first. We are carried away

by the fervor of doing, and fail to stop to question whether the thing we are trying to achieve is really worth achieving. And it is this practice — this tendency to attach great importance to the mere naked result, regardless of the question as to its intrinsic value, that has led us, in many cases, almost unconsciously to adopt the doctrine that the ends justify the means. For the god of success is inexorable, — he knows no law, and with him results, and results only, gain recognition.

But what has all this to do with American athletics? The fact is that this same tendency which is to-day dominating American life is likewise dominating our athletic activity. Nay more, it has produced the American system of athletics. Stop and think. What is the predominant thought and purpose of our athletic contests? Is it to build up men physically, so that they may be better able to perform their life work? Thousands of students have not found it so. Is it a desire for clean, gentlemanly contests? If so, recent alleged exposures of professionalism and brutality have been atrocious lies. What, then, is the goal of the modern athletic contest? Does it not lie in one word — "success"? Is not every student energy, mental and physical, bent upon achieving a winning team? And do we not consider that we have failed if we do not win? It is the same American tendency — in the great strife to succeed, we fail to discriminate and to realize things at their true proportionate values. In this scurry of promiscuous achievement we never stop and think. And it is to this lack of sane thought and reflection that are due the evils that have sprung up in our system of athletics. Nor should these evils be made light of. The matter is a problem and a serious one. Our large universities and colleges are great, formative influences in our national life and are becoming more and more so every day. Likewise are our athletics closely bound up with our univer-

sity life. It is habits of thought that form character for good or bad; and who will deny that the athletic success of his Alma Mater holds a great part, if not the greater part, of the student's attention during his spare moments? What is discussed and re-discussed in the class room and out of class room, at the dinner table and after dinner, and before going to bed? Always athletics, and nothing but athletics.

And what is the result? In continuously thinking about the same thing we unconsciously adopt its standards, and they become a part of the very texture and fiber of our minds. This is why this question is a serious one. The American college man is making a fetich of his athletics. We would do well to call a halt and to ask ourselves, "Is it worth while?" Is it worth while, this working principle that we must win and win at any cost? To this principle we have sacrificed healthy pleasure sports and made of them highly specialized professions; under it we have instituted systems of training almost Spartan in severity, systems under which the reserve power and normal health of the finest physiques are drained in order to turn out a Courtney crew or a Yost machine; it is to this principle that is due the exaggerated importance of athletic prowess, so that to-day student standards of manhood depend to a great extent upon the tendons in a man's leg rather than the brain cells in his head. Unconsciously we have made a huge caricature of the whole business. In short, the entire spirit of our athletic system is professional. We train up our athletes as did the colonial cavalier his fighting cocks or as does the modern millionaire his racing horse; we specially feed them, transport them in special trains, we yell for them, bet on them, and weep over them. If it were not so serious, it would be highly humorous, the sight of our five-thousand-dollar coaches and trainers, — intelligent men for the most part, — running around after their charges, coddling them and denying them,

looking solicitously after their appetites, seeing that they are properly rubbed down, tucking them into bed, turning out the lights, aye, and report has it, even praying for them in a fashion all their own. And as for expense, why nothing is too good for the athlete, our human blue-ribbon entry; the football team of a prominent Eastern university costs yearly over thirty thousand dollars, or about three thousand dollars per man, — a pretty high price, ladies and gentlemen, to pay in order that one man may get some exercise. Now all these facts, — and they are facts, — are significant of the dominant spirit of our athletic activity, which is the real underlying cause of all this extravagance and distortion.

But bad as these evils of extravagance and general athletic hysteria are, and indirectly fostering and abetting other evils as they do, the worst feature of modern athletics is that known as professionalism, for it is a direct infringement of the moral code and as such is fundamental. Now I have no quarrel with the professional athlete who, under the name of professional, honestly attempts to earn a livelihood as best he can. But in the interests of true sport we have seen fit to declare, and wisely so, that in our college athletics only the amateur — he who goes in for the sake of the sport itself — shall take part. And he who, understanding this, goes into a college contest or any amateur contest, knowing that he is a professional, — knowing that he has in one form or another accepted remuneration for athletic services, — that man is sailing under false colors, he is acting a lie, he is dishonest, and in so far as he is dishonest he is immoral. But the individual case of professionalism is not the worst by any means.

The root of the whole evil lies in the system, — a system run upon that doctrine of "results," and permeated with the belief that the ends justify the means; a system which not only permits and winks at dishonest practice, but which actually encourages it and positively seeks for

it, so that the boy fresh from the preparatory school drifts with the tide easily and almost imperceptibly into "dishonest professionalism" — easily convinced by the smooth sophistry of "representatives" and advance agents. It is our universities with their inducements and schemes of indirect remuneration that are, octopus-like, winding their tentacles around the young American athlete and dragging the fair name of amateur sport into the mire.

And now I come to another evil tendency of American athletics which I shall call specialization. By that I mean simply this: the colleges and universities, by a process of selection and elimination, gather together a squad of men who are already as near to physical perfection as can be found in that community; and then all the money is lavished, and all the coaching and training is concentrated, upon these few in order to evolve a winning team. And where do the great mass of the students come in, — those who need to engage in active outdoor sports throughout the year? Why, they are left to develop lung power on the bleachers. The lines along which our athletics are at present run is tending to kill sport — in learning how to cheer we are forgetting how to play. Conditions at present remind one of the gladiatorial days of Rome, when the soft-skinned spectator exercised by twiddling his thumbs up or down. We have substituted tongue movements for thumb movements.

Now in answer to the charges and evil tendencies, and all the present-day agitation on the subject, there are those who say that "the rules" are to blame. Are the rules to blame for the waste and extravagance, for the severe training systems, for the organization of athletics along business lines, for the prostitution of amateur sport? The rules have nothing to do with it. It is not the rules, but the spirit, that is at fault, and the system which is the

embodiment of that spirit. It is not rules we lack—it is sanity and moderation. Had we saner standards in our athletics, there would be less need for rules. It is our standards that are false in this matter; as in other things, so in our athletics. We are slaves of success. Our creed is to win, and just so long as the idea of winning remains of sole importance, just so long will these athletic evils continue to be.

And now let me ask you, is this a good creed? Are athletics, as constituted at present, really worth while? Do the ends justify the means? In the mere fact of winning has there been any real substantial result achieved? The answer must be "No." Let us therefore abandon this blind worship of athletic idols, and let us get back to a normal basis. Let us still desire to win, for that is instinctive and healthy, but let it be, primarily, love of contest, rather than of conquest; let us first have clean amateur sport, let us have simplicity, and economy, and above all, let us have, not athletics for the few, but sport for the many. Let us go back to the old-fashioned idea of physical exercise,—the idea of clean, gentlemanly contest, and sport for the sake of sport,—let us cease working at athletics, and let us play awhile.

A PROGRESSIVE STATESMAN

EDGAR E. ROBINSON

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

An oration awarded first place in the Hamilton Oratorical Contest before the Hamilton Club, Chicago, June 11, 1907.

FORTY-FIVE years after the last of our great colonial leaders had ceased his labors, a London review said, "The American world will forget John Adams." This prophecy is partly true. Adams is not hailed to-day as the patron saint

of any political party. The services of Hamilton and Jefferson were more dazzling, and their deeds are inseparably associated with our early history. Men still advocate the ideas of Hamilton and dream in the ideals of Jefferson. Not so with the ideas of John Adams. His standard was not understood even by his contemporaries, and succeeding generations have been slow to grasp the real import of his life. Yet, I believe that, estimating the true significance of his statesmanship, no leader of the Revolutionary era performed greater service, and none furnishes an example so applicable to the problems of to-day, than the progressive New Englander, John Adams of Massachusetts.

The political ideas of any period of our nation's history are usually separated into two broad groups: the ideas of the radicals and the ideas of the conservatives. The first are ideas of extremists, who aim at reform from a theoretical point of view. These men are eager to advance, yet not considerate of the past or mindful of immediate results. The second are the ideas of those who oppose change or innovation and dread any movement toward greater democracy. In the early days of our history, such radicalism was typified by Jefferson and the Republicans; such conservatism by Hamilton and the Federalists. Standing midway between the two, combining in their political creed the enthusiasm of the radical and the judgment of the conservative, were such men as Washington, Franklin, and Adams. These men we may call by a name not generally recognized in party parlance, yet dignified and expressive. Not radicals — not conservatives — these men were progressives. Men of conviction and determination, they were, nevertheless, conservative of old things, but as some one has said, "as pillars, not as pinnacles; as aids, not as idols." I shall speak tonight of John Adams, whose life has, I believe, a vital message for the statesmen of this generation.

In their political ideas, Jefferson and his followers were as opposed to Hamilton and his friends as are the opposite poles of the magnet. Thomas Jefferson was the embodiment of democracy. He believed that no man could go much beyond his fellows, and that a government which was not the image of those governed was not one under which the average man would improve. "Whenever affairs go obviously wrong," said Jefferson, "the good sense of the people will interfere to set them right." To this end, state sovereignty must be maintained, local patriotism must be cherished. Enthusiastic to a fault, and with his judgment unbalanced by the study of French conditions, Jefferson presented the view of the radical. In direct contrast, Hamilton and his party feared the broadening of popular representation. They distrusted the masses. One of them even said that the people were deficient in virtue and knowledge. Their political doctrine lay away from the people. State sovereignty was not in their minds; each colony must sink individuality in one national unit, great and inspiring. They looked for a strongly centralized government in the hands of a few able men. Everything must be nation wide. These were the ideas of natural aristocrats. An imperialist at heart, and opposed to any digression from established forms, Hamilton was the representative of conservatism.

Each of these groups of statesmen had followers. Is it any wonder that the classes, the wealthy aristocrats, gravitated toward the conservative group, while the masses, jealous of class supremacy, were irresistibly drawn to the radical ideas? Here, then, is our first division into opposing parties, not at first divided upon any questions of governmental development, but differing vitally in the very essence of their political creed. Neither of these ideas could alone build or direct this nation wisely. A government like that of England, a Hamilton production, would have been ultra-

conservative — even reactionary. A government of French philosophers which Jefferson advocated would have been ultra-radical and would have had no claim to permanency. In the new American republic the keynotes must be progress *and* moderation. It was the farseeing men who stood between the two extremes, who made safe the early voyage of our state. Washington, Franklin, and Adams were the leaders of this middle group. Washington presided over the Continental Congress, and led the colonial armies, because his colleagues recognized in him a man of broad impartiality. It was he, as the first executive of the new nation, who united radical and conservative. Benjamin Franklin's whole life was based upon the reconciliation of opposing factors. He always sought a middle ground. The gentle old man calmed the impetuosity of leaders of factions and implored for mutual well-being to work together for possible independence and union. Even more than Washington and Franklin, John Adams was the useful citizen. He was too moderate to play the politician; farseeing enough to act the statesman. These men, who were moderate radicals and enlightened conservatives, we have called progressives.

A man of intellect rather than emotion, Adams was late in entering public life. He was forty when he entered the Continental Congress. In the midst of the petty jealousies which dominated this early assembly, he labored incessantly for united action. His progressive spirit chafed at the slow progress made in debating the questions of the hour. He was looked upon at first as the great foe of the moderates. His fiery speeches against the tyranny of England could not be otherwise interpreted. Yet his judgment led him to counsel gradual measures. The conservatives complained that Adams desired too much when he declared that the colonists be declared free, sovereign, and independent states. The progressive is always stigmatized "radical" by

the conservative when actual results are being accomplished. It is only when the progressive says in contrast to the radical, let us build as well as tear down, that the true difference is seen. As we look back over this stormy body of provincials, so narrow-minded and jealous, who possessed no authority to achieve concentrated action, it seems wonderful that out of this body could emerge such masterly measures as the Declaration of Independence. In the interplay of many forces, and in the presence of all varieties of opinion, the progressives, under the leadership of John Adams, accomplished united action for independence.

The influence of Adams is next felt in the Constitutional Convention. During the war the great body of Americans had been fighting for one result, but when it came to the formation of a union, the radical and conservative elements were again arrayed against each other. The Hamilton group were conservative in wishing the fundamentals of old English law applied to the new state. The Jefferson group were radical in basing their form of government, their theory of representation and functions of officers, upon ideas which had their foremost advocates in France. But the progressives saw that the government must be founded on old ideas, improved by new ideas. The final Constitution was essentially a compromise. Sovereignty, representation, theory of taxation, and the general powers of the new government, relying entirely upon neither tradition nor theory, partook of the ideas of both extremes. The new government did not rest upon the conservative policy of England, nor the radical theories of French enthusiasts. You say that John Adams was not a member of this Constitutional Convention. True! He was absent on a disagreeable and perilous foreign mission. Yet his spirit was present. His bill of rights, drafted in the Continental Congress, was used as a model for the rights to be guaranteed to the people by the new Con-

stitution. The division and balance of powers had been best exemplified in the Massachusetts constitution of 1780, and this had been his work, a work characterized later as the most perfect form of republican government ever made. In the Constitutional Convention, Washington presided, Franklin reconciled the extremists, and the spirit of John Adams tempered all.

As President, Adams was to perform his greatest service. The great question of our early existence was that of our relation to foreign governments. Washington had maintained strict neutrality. In 1796 France desired an alliance against England. She had prepared herself to force such an alliance by her supposed hold on Canada and the Mississippi Valley. Jefferson's party clamored for this French alliance. On the other hand, Hamilton headed a pro-English party. England was fighting France, so were we; why not an alliance with England? What matter if Washington had counseled against such an action? Here indeed was a crisis. To ally ourselves with either nation meant entrance into European complications. To refuse to ally ourselves might mean a struggle to maintain neutrality. But Adams absolutely refused to consider union with either nation. We would fight if need be, but we would remain neutral. A storm of popular indignation burst upon him; the Federalists openly repudiated their President. But he remained steadfast. Strict neutrality was maintained, and there was more firmly established the precedent foreshadowing the famous doctrine of Monroe. This final deed of Adams's public life is to reflecting minds a conspicuous event in our nation's history. His spirit of moderate progress, his compromise between extremes, had again worked its beneficent results. This was the achievement of a progressive and constructive statesman.

John Adams, then, always endeavored to find the working

mean between radicalism and conservatism. His bill of rights became the essence of the Declaration of Independence. His Massachusetts constitution became the heart of our Federal Charter. His crowning service was when, standing between bitter factions, he maintained strict neutrality. Adams, Franklin, and Washington, the great progressives of their generation, were the statesmen who brought working harmony out of discordant elements. Service worthy our lasting admiration!

Can we find in their progressive programme any suggestions for the statesmen of our own generation? The supreme question of to-day is how to deal with corporate wealth and special privilege. On this issue radicals and conservatives are as far apart as of old. To either extreme the classes and the masses are rushing. The radicals declare that monopolies in private hands are robbing the people. They urge us unhesitatingly to overthrow our traditional policies. Anything for a change! Voicing such sentiments, a radical nearly carries the Empire State. Equally reprehensible are the stand-pat conservatives who, refusing to see what they have never yet seen, never learn anything new. They say that the complaints of the masses are groundless, and urge us to be satisfied with prosperity. They belong to the "satisfied segment" of the great parties. To-day, when the schemes of the radicals are too chimerical, and the conservative programme too reactionary, where shall we look for guidance? Our problems are changed, but men still meet them with the same essential differences as of old. Who are the moderate progressives of this generation, who, uniting the enthusiasm of the radical with the judgment of the conservative, can give us a constructive programme?

He who stands unmoved and confident in the midst of arrogant classes and tumultuous masses and proclaims the square deal for every man; who faces a gang of law-breaking union men in Chicago and rebukes their lawless-

ness ; who says to law-breaking corporations, "We war not against wealth, but against ill-gotten wealth, not against enterprise and prosperity, but against unfair, fraudulent devices of selfish greed" : he also, who amid the distress of New York proclaims, "The people will not tolerate indifference to public wrongs ; we must deal with crying evils in a spirit at once liberal and conservative," — such men are the progressive statesmen of to-day. Let the people of all states, as regardless of party as old John Adams, rally to the support of these progressives. They are slowly, but surely, leading us step by step, between the bogs of class hatred and demagogism and the sloughs of stand-pat conservatism and reactionism, to the high ground of administrative honesty, industrial equity, and business justice. These are constructive statesmen.

The American world has not entirely forgotten John Adams. His spirit lives in those of our statesmen who avoid inflammatory appeals, but listen to the voice of the masses crying out against real injustice ; who avoid political obtuseness, yet temper their measures with due regard for a glorious past. Hamilton's undying fame rests upon his accomplishment of a strong centralized government. Jefferson's idealism and belief in the people is ever the basis of true democracy. And John Adams shall rank with Hamilton and Jefferson as the leader who found the working mean between their political ideas — tempering radicalism with conservatism in a spirit of progressive statesmanship. John Adams teaches us and all succeeding generations that if our nation shall prosper most highly, the classes and the masses, the conservatives and the radicals, must all unite in one great national spirit of progress, which he himself called "One great, wise, and noble spirit, one masterly soul animating one vigorous body." Such is the message of John Adams, the grand old Rock of Massachusetts.

INTERNATIONALISM

JAMES HENRY MAYS

OF SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

The winning oration in the contest of the Northern Oratorical League, 1895, Mr. Mays representing the University of Michigan.

THE nation is composed of individuals, as the mass is composed of atoms. In the beautiful discovery of Newton we learn that the same law which governs the smallest atom governs also the largest mass, even to the universe of planets and suns. Individuals bound in fellowship by one great rule of right consent to have the fierceness of their nature restrained for the common welfare. They are constrained to live with common purposes, strive for common advancement, rejoice in common blessings, suffer common disasters; in common they glory in mutual happiness, and in the victories of peace, "no less renowned than war." So nations, after squandering their resources upon the art of destruction, after ages of dreadful warfare, are likewise coming to realize the awful folly of continual discord. They, too, are beginning to appreciate the significance of moral laws; to beware lest they disregard the divine command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" to observe the same great rule of right that binds individuals in fellowship.

This growing spirit of mutual helpfulness we call Internationalism. What is the origin, the development, the mission of this bond of fellowship among the nations?

I. With our savage forefathers, the family was the nation. Apart from actual kinship, there was no brotherhood. Every man outside this petty circle was an enemy to be slain as the wild beasts of the jungles. Beginning to realize the strength of united action, families formed into tribes under

chiefs to wage more relentless warfare upon all other tribes. As the rays of civilization penetrated deeper into the gloom, these tribes, stirred by the same restless energy, united into larger communities, and settled upon fixed habitations. Land, instead of kinship, became the basis of society, and was occupied by petty lordships and communities, separate and distinct. At first, they professed no common interest, cultivated no friendly relations, recognized no rights claimed by members of other communities, and treated all men outside the narrow limits of their province as enemies. Each held it to be the great aim of life to carry on successful warfare, and zealously maintained, as do nations now, the right to make war on every other community. Their association was for mutual destruction. Every principality was intolerant, bigoted, selfish. Within their own border lines, the people were enjoined to recognize the brotherhood of man; outside these limits, they were licensed and encouraged to pilfer and murder without restraint. Within their borders, they lived in harmony; outside, they roamed the seas as pirates, ravaged the land as bandits, annihilated villages, gave no quarter, sparing not even women or children. It was one continuous story of dreadful warfare from the time

> "When man walked with beast,
> Joint tenant of the shade."

Gradually it dawned upon the minds of men that there was nothing in political lines to make them foes; they began to realize that they were men, who had much in common. They said one to another, "We will further unite for common defense and mutual advancement." Just as the smaller bodies by degrees had been drawn into fellowship, these larger bodies were fused into nations. Primitive Rome was formed by the union of small communities. The countless principalities of Great Britain were gradually merged into

seven kingdoms, and then united in one *great* kingdom under Egbert, the Saxon. In France we see Roman, Iberian, Teuton, and Celt, once stirred by angry passions, now blended into a powerful republic. Spain, a composite of numerous races of different religion and government, became a nation in the fifteenth century by the union of Castile and Aragon. Germany, once consisting of more than three hundred distinct principalities, each in bloody strife with the others, now presents a mighty empire, united at home and respected abroad. And on this side the seas, many great states, inclined at first to be indifferent to the common weal, disposed to be independent sovereignties, united their interests, and to-day present a typical example of what brotherly spirit may do for the nations of the world. Thus, with the gradual association of tribes and communities, great nations were formed, each invoking the blessings of united friendly action upon its numerous principalities. The torch of the incendiary was extinguished, the license of the robber revoked, the red hand of the assassin arrested, the mad fury of the mob restrained, and the once hostile factions were welded into great nations.

II. Such was the result of fellowship of communities. Consider the development of this spirit among nations. Internally, each rejoiced in the mutual friendship of its numerous provinces; but, strange to say, toward its neighbors assumed a hostile front. This attitude of the nations caused Burke to declare that friendly international relations would afford a pleasing theme for the historian, but "alas! such history would not fill ten pages." These cordial relations between states of the modern world had their beginning in the Peace of Westphalia, which was confirmed by the principal nations of Europe. Permanent legations were then first securely established. Since then, says Emerson, "all history is the decline of war." Since then, says Sir Henry

Maine, "a moral brotherhood in the whole human race has been steadily gaining ground." Twenty years ago, Gladstone declared that there had been reserved for England a great and honorable destiny in promoting internationalism. Since these words were spoken, thirty-eight powerful nations have united their moral forces, by the treaty of Geneva, as a safeguard against the excesses, miseries, and ferocities of war. They have bound themselves to use every means to relieve the suffering of sick and wounded soldiers; to discourage war, as the best means of attaining that end; to encourage international good will; to mitigate international calamities in time of peace; and to place international concord on a more enduring basis.

This spirit of mutual fellowship is fast pervading all human society. From the family circle to the tribal community, from the village clan to the broader province, from jealous statehood to national commonwealth, the great rule of right is becoming broad enough and strong enough to embrace all mankind in the general harmony. In recognition of this unity of interest the Pan-American Congress assembled at Washington with the highest motives that ever actuated international movements. Representatives of half the civilized world met, not to arouse bitter prejudices, but for better mutual understanding; not to obtain unfair advantages, but to promote the general welfare; not to cultivate the art and terrible amusement of war, but to form closer commercial relations; not to witness the parade of military forces, but to obviate all necessity for the maintenance of navies and great standing armies, such as are now crushing out the life of Europe. Let those who would sneer at the growing spirit of internationalism remember that never before did there convene a congress of nations with the common purpose of agreeing, not upon military plans, not to incite their people to tumult and carnage, not to foster cruelty and superstition,

not to do homage to the god of battles, but to adopt the motto of peace and fellowship, and thus secure enduring prosperity in the Western world.

III. Brief as has been the history of these great movements, certain principles and methods have been clearly defined. What, then, is the mission of internationalism? Though slow in development, its spirit has long been appealing to the better nature of the individual man, and is now beginning to pervade the councils of nations. What is there in boundary lines to convert a brother man into a deadly foe? Ought the conduct of nation toward nation to be less humane than that of man toward man? Shall nations still retain barbarous methods of determining justice, while judicial tribunals by exercise of reason adjudicate the rights of individuals? Shall we execute a man for committing a single murder, and glorify a nation for slaughtering its thousands? Is that voice of thunder, "Thou shalt not kill," prolonged and reëchoed throughout the earth by Christian churches, to have an awful meaning to individuals, and signify nothing to nations? By what reasoning can the crime of the individual become the glory of the nation? Must man put forth every energy against pestilence and famine, while nations upon the slightest pretext "let slip the dogs of war"? Must he revere and cherish his religion, and yet allow the state to profane it? Must he continue to extol virtue to the skies, and yet permit nations to dethrone it? Must he strive for knowledge, while nations misapply and pervert it? Oh, why must man continue to toil, and permit the product of his hand and brain to be squandered upon the means of destruction? If it has proved well for individuals, families, tribes, communities, and provinces to strive peaceably together, should not the larger masses of men profit by such example? It is the mission of internationalism to answer these questions, and to say to governments, into whose hands the welfare of mankind is placed, —

"Therefore take heed
How you awake the sleeping sword of war;
In the name of God, take heed."

Man may yet be blinded by prejudice, nations may yet be lacerated by war, but of this we may be assured: that in the distresses which mankind must suffer, ignorance will never again be so potent a factor, for men are now heirs to the wisdom of the ages; difference in religion will never again so arouse the spirit of intolerance, for man must be left unfettered to obey the dictates of his conscience; difference in race and language will never again be so strong a barrier to friendly intercourse, for all nations are coming to recognize the brotherhood of man; distance will never again render international interests so vague and remote, for the messengers of intelligence and of commerce, like shuttles, are rushing to and fro over the earth, "weaving the nations into one." Stupendous political movements, which in times past would have brought havoc and carnage, must in future be conducted through quiet deliberations. Questions, which a few years ago would have been sure heralds of war, must be determined before a supreme court of the nations. Already it is the law of nations to do in time of peace the most good and in time of war the least evil. Arbitration is the rule; and when war does occur, it is divested of its most atrocious cruelties. Nations begin to realize that disaster needs no aid or encouragement from the government; that humanity will suffer enough at best; that governments are the servants of men, and not their masters; that they are institutions for man's benefit, and not for his torture; that they are builders and not destroyers; that they are means to an end, and that end the advancement of civilization.

This, then, is the mission of internationalism: that the nations, instead of imitating the fierceness of the tiger, shall render good offices one unto another; instead of rejoicing

in the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," shall tender support in public distress; instead of invading, bombarding, and pillaging their neighbors, shall afford relief in general calamities; and that, instead of the clank of arms and the cannon's roar, instead of the crash and jar of artillery, the tramp of the war horse, the glare of hungry flames, the pitiless scenes of death, decay, and famine, we may behold the nations of the earth, of every religion, language, and race, firmly bound by the threads of commerce and the stronger ties of brotherly feeling; behold them flourishing together in the arts of peace, striving with common impulses, combined in common enterprises, and tendering mutual returns of kindness and civility.

THE UNITED STATES AND UNIVERSAL PEACE

GLENN PORTER WISHARD

Of St. Paul, Minnesota

The winning oration in the contest of the Northern Oratorical League, held at the University of Wisconsin, May 3, 1907, the author representing Northwestern University; also awarded first place in the second Interstate Oratorical Contest on Peace and Arbitration, held at De Pauw University, May 16, 1908, under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Peace Association.

Political and religious reforms move slowly. We change our beliefs and at the same time hold fast to old customs. Far-sighted public opinion has declared war to be unchristian; sound statesmanship has stamped it as unjust; the march of events has, in the majority of cases, proved it to be unnecessary, — and yet we continue to build mammoth engines of destruction as if war were inevitable. Truly, the millennium is not at hand, nor is war a thing of the past; but whereas war was once the rule, now it is the exception. This is an age of peace; controversies once decided by force

are now settled by arbitration; Europe, once the scene of continuous bloodshed, has not been plundered by conquering armies for more than a generation; while the United States has enjoyed a century of peace marred by only five years of foreign war. The four notable conflicts of the last decade have been between great and small powers, and have been confined to the outposts of civilization, while during the same period more than one hundred disputes have been settled by peaceful means. The willingness to arbitrate has been manifest; the means have been provided; the Permanent International Court, established by the Hague Conference in 1899, actually lives, and has already adjudicated four important controversies. But arbitration, you say, will never succeed because the decisions cannot be enforced. You forget that already some two hundred and fifty disputes have been settled by this method, and in not one instance has the losing power refused to abide by the decision.

Yesterday the man who advocated universal peace was called a dreamer; to-day throughout the world organized public opinion demands the abolition of war. Yesterday we erected statues to those who died for their country; to-day we eulogize those who live for humanity. Yesterday we bowed our heads to the god of war; to-day we lift our hands to the Prince of Peace.

I do not mean to say that we have entered the Utopian age, for the present international situation is a peculiar one, since we are at the same time blessed with peace and cursed with militarism. This is not an age of war, yet we are burdened by great and ever increasing armaments; the mad race for naval supremacy continues, while the relative strength of the powers remains practically the same; the intense and useless rivalry of the nations goes on until, according to the great Russian economist, Jean de Bloch, it

means "slow destruction in time of peace or swift destruction in the event of war." In Europe to-day millions are being robbed of the necessities of life, millions more are suffering the pangs of abject poverty, in order to support this so-called "armed peace." Note the condition in our own country. Last year we expended on our army, navy, and pensions sixty-seven per cent of our total receipts. Think of it! In a time of profound peace more than two thirds of our entire expenditures are charged to the account of war.

We do not advocate radical Utopian measures; we do not propose immediate disarmament; but we do maintain that when England, Germany, France, and the United States each appropriate from thirty to forty per cent of their total expenditures in preparation for war in an age of peace, the time has come for the unprejudiced consideration of the present international situation. Why do the great powers build so many battleships? President Roosevelt, Representative Hobson, and others would have us believe that England, Germany, and France are actually preparing for war, while the United States is building these engines of destruction for the purpose of securing peace. But what right have we to assume that our navy is for the purpose of preserving peace, while the navies of the European powers are for the purpose of making war? Is it not an insult to neighbors to make such an assumption? As a matter of fact, England builds new battleships because Germany does, Germany increases her navy because France does, while the United States builds new Dreadnoughts because the other nations pursue that policy. Call it by whatever honey-coated name you will, the fact remains that it is military rivalry of the most barbaric type, a rivalry as useless as it is oppressive, a rivalry prompted by jealousy and distrust, where there should be friendship and mutual con-

fidence. There is not one of the powers but what would welcome relief from the bondage of militarism; the demand for the limitation of armaments is almost universal. Believing that to decry war and praise peace without offering some plan by which the present situation may be changed is superficial, we hasten to propose something practicable. How shall we put an end to this useless rivalry of the nations? At present a general agreement of the great powers to the limitation of military establishments seems impossible. It remains for some powerful nation to prove to the world that great armaments are not necessary to continued peace with honor and justice. Some nation must take the first step. Why not the United States?

The nations of Europe are surrounded by powerful enemies, while the United States is three thousand miles from any conceivable foe. They are potentially weak, while our resources are unlimited. They have inherited imperialism; we have inherited democracy. Their society is permeated with militarism; ours is built on peace and liberty. Our strategic position is unequaled, our resources are unlimited, our foreign policy is peaceful, our patriotism is unconquerable. In view of these facts, I ask you, what nation has the greatest responsibility for peace? Are not we Americans the people chosen to lift the burden of militarism from off the backs of our downtrodden brothers?

Now, what are we doing to meet this responsibility? On the one hand, we are performing a great work for peace. Many of our statesmen, business men, and laborers, united in a common cause, are exerting a tremendous influence in behalf of arbitration and disarmament. On the other hand, we are spending more on our military establishment than any other world power; we are building more battleships than any other nation; we are no longer trusting our neighbors; we are warning them to beware of our mailed fist;

we are thereby declaring to the world that we have lost our faith in the power of justice and are now trusting in the force of arms.

And why this paradoxical situation? Why do we at the same time prepare for war and work for peace? It is simply because many of our statesmen honestly believe that the best way to preserve peace is to prepare for war. It is true that a certain amount of strength tends to command respect, and for that reason a navy sufficient for self-defense is warranted. Such a navy we now have. Why should it be enlarged? Naval enthusiasts would have us to prepare, not for the probable, but for the possible. Seize every questionable act of our neighbors, they say, magnify it a thousand times, publish it in letters of flame throughout the land, and make every American citizen believe that the great powers are prepared to destroy us at any moment. Having educated the people up to a sense of threatened annihilation, burden them with taxes, build artificial volcanoes dedicated to peace, parade them up and down the high seas, and defy the world to attack us. Then, they say, we shall have peace. Is this reasonable? As sure as thought leads to action, so preparation for war leads to war. This argument that the United States, since she is a peace-loving nation, should have the largest navy in the world in order to preserve peace, is illogical and without foundation. By what divine right does the United States assume the rôle of preserving the world's peace at the cannon's mouth? Since when has it been true that might makes right and that peace can be secured only by acting the part of a bully? It is unjust, it is unpatriotic, it is unstatesmanlike, for men to argue that the United States should browbeat the world into submission; that she should build so many battleships that the nations of the Eastern Hemisphere will be afraid to oppose the iron-clad dragon of the Western Hemisphere. Peace purchased at the price of brute force

is unworthy of the name. Surely the United States cannot be guilty of such injustice. If we wish to be free, if we wish to remain a true republic, if we purpose to continue our mighty work for humanity, we must limit our preparations for war. The best way to preserve peace is to think peace, to believe in peace, and to work for peace.

The extent to which the great powers will go in order to secure enthusiasm for their military establishments is almost beyond comprehension. Each nation has its great military rendezvous, its grand naval parades, its magnificent display of gorgeous military uniforms, its wave of colors, blare of trumpets, and bursts of martial music. The United States is now sending her navy around the world for the purpose of training the seamen certainly, but also that the youth of the land may be intoxicated by the apparent glory of it all, and thus enlist for service; that the American citizens may be aroused to greater enthusiasm by this magnificent display of the implements of legalized murder, and thus be willing to build more floating arsenals rather than irrigate arid lands, develop internal waterways, build hospitals, schools, and colleges.

The trouble with such exhibitions is that they display only the bright side of militarism. If, in place of the Russian battleships, they should display the starving masses of dejected and despised beings who pay for those battleships; if, in place of the gay German uniforms, they should exhibit the rags of the disheartened peasants who pay for those uniforms; if, in place of the grand parade, they should produce masses of wounded men and rivers of blood; if, in place of the stirring martial music, they should produce the writhing agonies and awful groans of dying men; if, in place of sham war, they should produce actual war, — their exhibition would make militarism unbearable.

Again, we are told that we have suddenly become a world

power, and that we must prepare to exercise a new diplomacy under new conditions. We must increase our navy, they say, to enforce this new diplomacy. We must prepare to fight in behalf of the Monroe Doctrine. But why, I ask, cannot this new diplomacy be enforced as American diplomacy has always been enforced? We promulgated the Monroe Doctrine without a navy; we have maintained it for over eighty years without show of force. If our new diplomacy is right, it is as strong as the world's respect for righteousness; if it is wrong, a hundred battleships cannot enforce it.

We have become a world power, and therefore we have a world-wide responsibility, and that responsibility is to establish justice, not force; to build colleges, not battleships; to enthrone love, not hate; to insure peace, not war. Our mission is to strike the chains from the ankles of war-burdened humanity. Our duty is to proclaim in the name of the Most High our faith in the power of justice as opposed to the force of arms. May it be said of us that we found the world burdened with militarism, but left it blessed with peace; that we found liberty among the strong alone, but left it the birthright of the weak; that we found humanity a mass of struggling individuals, but left it a united brotherhood. May it be said of us that we found peace purchased at the price of human suffering, but left it as free as air; that we found peace bruised and stained with militarism, but left it ruling the world through love and liberty. May it be said of us that we fulfilled our mission as a world power; that we were brave enough and strong enough to lead the world into the path of universal peace.

A WORLD PROBLEM

LUCY DEAN JENKINS

OF THE OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY FACULTY,
DEPARTMENT OF ORATORY

The winning oration in the contest of the Central Oratorical League, held at Ohio State University, May 16, 1902, the author representing Ohio Wesleyan University.

"THE oldest question is ever the newest question. The problem of the twentieth century B.C. is the problem of the twentieth century A.D. From the time Abraham started west from Mesopotamia down to the landing of the last Jew on the wharf at New York this morning," civilization has moved westward, but as we follow the gradual development of nations and of society, we become conscious that we have before us a problem, not of the far East, nor of the progressive West. In the coming century there will be neither "east nor west, nor border nor caste nor clan." This world will become a neighborhood in the twentieth century, and the question before us to-day is: What race, civilization, and religion will predominate among the neighbors?

There are but three possible solutions to this problem. First, — the rapid increase of armies and navies and the growing tendency on the part of some nations to seize and occupy land by force, indicates a revival of the military spirit. Hence Russia, who has just reached this military stage of civilization, may become the suzerain of Asia and the overlord of Europe. If so, the Asiatic race, civilization, and religion, under the leadership of Russia, will predominate. Second, — a European civilization, under the leadership of Great Britain may, by colonization power, combined with influence of culture, loyalty and honesty, become the leading nation of the globe. Third, — this world neighborhood may be permeated by the spirit of Americanism, which

stands for all the elements of a conquering nation. But there is a condition to the first solution: before Russian civilization can predominate, Russia must first become the overlord of Europe, and to become the overlord of Europe, she must first conquer Great Britain. Can she do it?

The Slavonic race to-day is the greatest barrier to the extension of liberty, peace, and Christianity. Russia has an army of more than three million men, the largest in the world. For the past century she has been creeping with a stealthy but certain tread into the byways of the Orient, until to-day her tyrannical hand has its clutches upon more than one-sixth of the entire globe. Yes, in appearance, Russia is a mighty nation, but on a close examination of her internal condition, we find her a remarkable example of a nation existing under false pretences. Her army is large, but it lacks patriotism and its service is compulsory. Her extension of domain proves her weakness; for her army, though large, is not sufficiently large to guard her undeveloped territory and her unassimilated peoples in time of war. Russia's finances are in a deplorable state, and her credit is maintained by constant loans from Germany and France. Her navy is inferior and will remain so because of her lack of seaports. Her greatest danger, however, lies in the fact that a collapse is imminent from within. Russia has recently begun to educate her people, and they are beginning to see the injustice and cruelty of her tyrannical rule. The agitation created by Tolstoi demanding freedom of speech and of the press, the students' riots, and the Stundist movement already portend the coming reformation or revolution, and Russia must remember that contentment at home precedes conquest abroad. No; Russia cannot conquer Great Britain, therefore she cannot predominate. She must wait until she has solved her domestic problems and created a civilization worthy of the leadership of the race. Russia's time for supremacy has not yet come.

Can a European civilization, under the leadership of Great Britain, predominate? It is evident to every student of polity that England is not the nation she was a few years ago. Her very prosperity is luring her to her retrogression. Her arms are no longer so powerful that her enemies dare not attack her, or her prosperity so great that other nations dare not compete with her. Her pride and stubbornness have allowed South Africa to endanger her possibilities of supremacy. The citizens of that distant and secluded state encounter England's combined forces, and if a few penniless farmers wrench the Transvaal from her grasp, what is to hold together her widely scattered dependencies in time of war? England's exports are losing foreign markets. She is not keeping pace with her rivals. In the production of coal, iron, and steel she has yielded her place to America. England's produce to-day sustains but one-third of her population, and three hundred thousand of her citizens are coming to America every year. Furthermore, if England should attempt to dominate, Germany would interfere. We must recognize Germany as a powerful and rapidly growing nation. With her well-trained army, her wealth, her manufactures, and her natural resources, all marshaled by her energetic Emperor, Germany could with impunity challenge England in the race of nations. If Russia's time for domination has not yet come, England's time for supremacy is past. She lost her opportunity by the folly of George III.

The third solution of the problem, the Americanization of the world, is a possible and a probable one. Every nation on the globe to-day is looking to us for leadership. If the United States wishes supremacy, she can win it. But does she want it? Will it be the best course for her? Will it be best for the world?

America, though advancing at an unprecedented pace, is beset by many temptations. The hurry and bustle of

American life, the eager whirl of competitive business, the passionate rush to outstrip a neighbor, the mad pursuit of wealth — these are the curses of America. And if these tendencies increase, if we gain unlimited power, if we shall be able to dictate to the world, if we are carried away by our dreams of wealth and sovereignty; if, in a word, we follow in the footsteps of Egypt and of Rome, who can say that we shall not meet their doom? Selfish ambition is another danger to Americans. It should be no hope of ours to rule, save by the influence of ideas and the force of example. The belief that we are agents of the Almighty, charged with the thunderbolts of heaven for the punishment of evil-doers, is one of those subtle temptations which lures a well-meaning people to destruction. No. America must not predominate. She must live on and on as a steady light to all nations, doing her part in enlightening and Christianizing the world.

The ruling power must have in it all the elements of strength. It must stand for liberty, justice, and peace. It must be conservative as well as progressive. It must have care and thoughtfulness as well as tempestuous eagerness. It must aim not only at the education of the few, but the universal instruction of the masses. It must produce Newtons as well as Edisons. It must train leaders in charity and reform as well as in commerce and arts. If we combine these elements with Christianity as a guide, we have the ideas that shall mold the world. Where can we find such a combination? In America? No. In England? No. In Russia? No. Is there, then, a solution to this problem?

Yes, there is one which has been presenting itself to the public mind more or less for the past decade, and every day that passes it takes a more plausible form. Since the death of Cecil Rhodes, its cry has gone out anew, and to-day the whole civilized world is considering it. If England will re-

nounce her servility to her aristocracy; if she can lay aside her pride and stubbornness; if America can supplant her worldly ambition by a desire to serve; if, instead of dreaming of political domination, the United States aims at intellectual and moral leadership, then the problem can be solved by the Union of the Anglo-Saxon nations, under the leadership of American ideals. Mockers may deride this suggestion as a dream, but the discovery of America was a dream; Independence was a dream; the Emancipation Proclamation was a dream. Surely such a Union would be a movement in the interest of human progress, world-wide peace, and universal freedom. The Anglo-Saxons stand for peace and enlightenment, wherever they may be found. Why should they not unite — not to conquer, but to uplift the world?

Such a Union would be natural. The Anglo-Saxon nations have a common pride in their common history. We sprang from the same stock. We have common likes and dislikes. In the past we have worked individually for the same ends; why not in the future work for the same and greater ends? We are the commercial developers of the world; we manufacture articles for more than one half the human race. Two-thirds of the commerce is carried on by the Anglo-Saxons. One-half the travel to-day is done by the English-speaking people. Sixty-eight per cent of the newspapers are printed in the English language. Our higher literature is the noblest, purest, and most inspiring in existence. The Anglo-Saxons are the teachers of the world. Germany is recognized as the schoolmaster among nations. By the death of Cecil Rhodes, Oxford is to become the Anglo-Saxon University of the world. And America affords the better opportunities of practical life. We are the missionaries of the world. Eighty-five per cent of the missionary work to-day is carried on by the English-speaking people. We distribute more

than two-thirds of the Bibles to the heathen. The strong individuality of the Anglo-Saxon, his courage and industrious spirit, have sent him to all parts of the world to christen states and provinces. From horizon to horizon, from pole to pole, in the bowels of the earth and in aërial space, his courageous spirit has sought mastery.

Our Union is not only practical, but it is fast becoming a necessity. In the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the Behring Fisheries, the Hague Convention, and the Chinese War we were compelled to act together. Herein have our opportunities for economic union already begun. And shall we renounce a moral union which three weeks ago impelled Russia to follow our suggestion and announce her intention to abandon Manchuria, a sacrifice unprecedented in her history?

Through America, England and Germany may coöperate for the advancement of civilization. Germany is closely related to England by marriage ties. She has contributed a large and potent element to America's population and has furnished our ideals in higher education. She seems to be anxiously awaiting to make friendly coöperation with us and has recently shown her friendly feeling by sending her Prince to visit us.

The Anglo-Saxons are one. Our language is one; our songs are one; our religion is one. Our Union means the overthrow of despotic rule, war, and tyranny. It means peace, enlightenment, and Christianity for the world. In our Union may be found God's final solution to the dark problems of ignorance and superstition, and while He seems to be preparing us for the possession of His heritage, He is also preparing the other nations as He prepared them nineteen hundred years ago for the coming of His Son.

People of America! As loyal citizens it is our duty to agitate this question. Shall we refuse to consider the judgment of Hiram Maxim, the plan of Andrew Carnegie, the

prophecy of William E. Gladstone? Shall we selfishly close our ears to the voice of our Mother Country? Shall we, the oldest and most able of her children, whose helping hand could lift her far above the possibility of a downfall, —will we turn from our Mother and let her take her place among the nations of the past? No; England will turn her lingering glance westward, will behold her eldest daughter steadily guiding the grandest Republic on earth; they will clasp hands across the ocean and together will establish a government, not on Cecil Rhodes's basis of a combination of rich men, but on the twentieth-century basis of education, freedom, and justice. While we pray God there will never be a necessity for testing force, yet if the worst comes, Russia can bring her army, her navy, her tyranny, and we can without fear meet her and say, "So far and no farther!"

But our platform is broad enough to furnish footing for Russia as well as the Anglo-Saxon nations. We plead for a Union of the Anglo-Saxons only for the purpose of helping all the nations of the world, and if Russia will be brought to higher conceptions of her duty to her people and justice to humanity, she can discharge her providential task to a hundred and fifty millions of people and make a noble contribution to the civilization of the twentieth century.

May the glory of the Union of the old Anglo-Saxon race never be dimmed by false ambition, greed, or vengeance. May she triumph over adversity, avarice, and tyranny. "May reason be her guide and love her law," and may the Anglo-Saxons show by their service to mankind that they are God's chosen people in bringing about the time when the "kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and He shall reign forever and ever."

THE TRUE MEANING OF GETTYSBURG

MYRON J. HAIG

OF THE ALBERT LEA (MINNESOTA) HIGH SCHOOL FACULTY

The winning oration in the Minnesota State Oratorical Contest of 1907, the author representing Carleton College.

EVERY great war is marked by its decisive conflict. Such struggles are treasured as historic memories by those nations whose lives they assure. Our Revolution is memorable for its Saratoga. Yet that field is saddened by the subsequent treachery of its hero. The Civil War centers about the battle of Gettysburg. There was inspired only the loftiest devotion and the truest patriotism. Of that battle, as the culmination of a great issue, I would speak to you to-night.

No conqueror's glory was established on that field; no empire's sway extended. Gettysburg was a struggle between conflicting principles of government. When, after the chaos and turmoil of the confederation, the Constitution had welded thirteen independent states into the American nation, it seemed as though the ideal government had been evolved. But questions at once arose as to the nature of the newly formed union. Distinct and antagonistic interpretations were placed upon the Constitution. One party would concentrate power in a national government; the other would recognize the state as supreme. Out of the conflict between these two principles, which for more than seventy years was the fundamental issue underlying the discussion of every specific act, arose that stupendous struggle which shook the very foundations of free government.

The national spirit exerted a mighty unifying influence. It paid the country's debts and revived credit. Appreciating the strength of organization, it bound the nation together by a system of roads and canals. Newly inspired by

a successful war with a foreign foe, the future of nationality seemed assured. It was a spirit of progress, but it was not universal. It was the spirit of the North alone. Her people learned to love the Union and with almost religious enthusiasm rallied to the support of the Constitution and the national government.

Meanwhile another principle — a principle of disintegration — was growing apace. It was local in character. It recognized the state as of supreme authority. The seed of sectional spirit was early implanted in American soil, and the conditions for its growth were most favorable. The country being settled by different peoples, climatic conditions developing diverse institutions, sectionalism grew rapidly. Inflaming the Hartford and Nashville conventions, and twenty years later framing the ordinance of Nullification, it separated the North and the South by an ever widening gulf. Year by year it seized the South more firmly in its iron grasp. If the state were not supreme, Southern institutions could not be constitutionally maintained and the long contemplated Southern confederacy could not be organized. Nullification and secession, the offspring of sectionalism, threatened the life of the nation. Sections which had stood side by side against a common foe, were thrown into frenzied hatred of each other.

Such had been the growth of these principles when another question appeared — a question which long had been lying like a threatening cloud on the political horizon, but which now began wholly to absorb the energies of the nation, and to lash into uncontrollable fury the fanaticism of North and South. The cherished doctrine of state sovereignty was forgotten, except as it involved the right to establish slavery.

In 1787 the slave power asked only for existence. The right to prevent the extension of slavery's domain was not denied. But the increasing demand for Southern cotton,

the invention of the cotton gin, and the opening of new lands in the Southwest, all contributed to the stimulation of the odious traffic in human flesh. Then began slavery's career of aggression. Basing its demands upon the doctrine of state rights, it would overthrow the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery's extension. It demanded the admission of Missouri as a slave state. The demand met violent opposition in the North; a bitter political contest ensued, and the result was the Missouri Compromise. The victory of slavery was well-nigh complete. A foothold was gained in soil consecrated to Freedom, and the dark cloud of slavery, surcharged with its countless wrongs and woes, rolled heavily across the Mississippi. The growth of the slave power was now rapid. Step by step, it forced its way, until it compelled America to stand confessed, a great slaveholding domain. Slavery had need now only of a government to execute the principles for which the slave party had struggled so long. But here it was checked. Anti-slavery agitation increased. Throughout all the North the embers of Freedom's fire, long smoldering in the hearts of thousands, at last burst into a mighty flame.

The presidential election of 1860 drew on. The result was known to be fraught with momentous consequences. Upon the outcome hung the destiny of the nation. Throughout the slaveholding states, arms and ammunition were being gathered in Southern forts. Plans were being matured for the severance of the Union, should the Republican candidate be elected. The election occurred, and from the forests of western Illinois, from obscurity and from poverty, there came forth a man, called by the need of the hour, to guide the destiny of the struggling young republic. The nation had a leader. He looked behind the frenzied passions of the hour, and revealed the true issue — an issue more vital than the slavery question. The Constitution

recognized slavery's right to exist, it gave Congress power only to prevent its extension. The Constitution did not recognize the supremacy of the individual state. The maintenance of the Union was the vital issue.

Such a limitation of state power the South had determined to oppose. States seceded. Southern officials resigned. In February, 1861, the Confederacy was organized. Eleven powerful states were severed from the Union. Slavery was the "corner stone of the edifice." Powerful in its beginning, it was already planning the annexation of Cuba and Mexico. It seemed as though in America would be established a great empire, founded upon slavery, devoted wholly to slavery, and wielding its powerful influence among the nations for the extension of slavery.

Meanwhile melancholy attempts at compromise proceeded. The North was willing to sacrifice all to save the Union. But the South had determined her course. Anxious to commit her grievances to the desperate chance of war, despising her adversary, and confident of success, she fired upon Sumter. A nation leaped to arms. The question of the sovereignty of the state or the sovereignty of the nation was appealed from the forum to the battle.

Two years passed and the cause of the Union had well-nigh met defeat. Bull Run, the Peninsula, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville were the steps by which the nation seemed hastening to her doom. The winter of '62 and '63 found the army disheartened and discouraged, the government and people oppressed with anxiety. The South was jubilant. One decisive victory on Northern soil would end the war and insure the triumph of the Southern cause. On July 1, 1863, a splendid army of one hundred thousand veterans was encamped on the plains of Gettysburg. Gathering to oppose them was the army of the Union — disorganized and shattered by defeat. It seemed as though the

state would establish its supremacy, and plant the hideous banners of slavery on the sacred soil of Bunker Hill.

The battle began. For two days the field was stubbornly fought, and still the victory was undecided. The night of July second fell with part of the Northern line surrounded by a victorious enemy. But the Union army was filled with undaunted spirit. It determined to make one last, supreme effort for the life of the Nation.

The day of real struggle dawns. The morning is spent in hurried preparation. The death grapple between nationalism and sectionalism is at hand. Officers hurry to and fro urging their men to a supreme effort. One o'clock: artillery is rushed into position on Seminary Ridge and directed toward the Union center. Suddenly there is a puff of smoke, and the brazen throats of a hundred cannon pour forth their iron hail of shot and shell. The Union guns make answer. The roar of cannon is deafening. The air is filled with a hissing, fiery cloud, which pours out torrents of destruction upon lines of living men. For an hour the angry storm continues until the Federal guns are silenced. Anxiety throbs in every Union breast. The awful cannonade has shattered the defense of nationality. Can those suffering lines withstand the final charge of sectionalism?

Far across the valley the Southern line of attack is massing opposite the Union center. It is a splendid array of eighteen thousand tried veterans. Eager but calm, silent and immovable, they await the signal to advance. The Union lines are reorganized. Upon every face, drawn with suffering, rests grim determination. At length that long line begins to move. On they come, a mile across an open plain. Bayonets glisten. Banners are flung to the breeze.

> "Firm paced and slow, a horrid front they form,
> Still as the breeze, but dreadful as the storm."

Bravely forward they march to the very mouths of the guns. Bursts of cannon thunder and flash. The line reels and bends, but moves on. Volley after volley tears great gaps in the ranks, but the staggering column does not quail. With the frenzy of a whirlwind they rush up the slope. They burst past the guns. Before the terrible fire of the infantry, they vanish like a lofty edifice before the tongues of devouring flame. Flesh and blood cannot face such awful slaughter. Hundreds throw down their arms and surrender; and as the remnants of that splendid column are hurled back in disarray, the crisis in this colossal drama is passed. Like a huge wave breaking on a rock-bound shore, the spirit of sectionalism has spent its force. Gettysburg is won. The Union is safe. The Nation is supreme.

Gettysburg marked an epoch in the history of civilization. For a year and a half the South bravely continued the unequal struggle, but that battle broke the strength of Southern arms. It assured the freedom of four million slaves. The dark fog of tyranny was lifted, and manhood stood forth in the clear sunlight of freedom and equal rights. The influence of Gettysburg was felt beyond the sea. The world looked and beheld the dream of a slave empire in America shattered. Spain and Portugal, Brazil and Cuba, hastened to free their slaves. Over all the civilized world the clang of the shackle and the crack of the whip were silent forever.

But that battle meant more than the freedom of slaves. On that day was born a new and grander nation. Ours was not to be a land of petty principalities — an easy prey to conquest from abroad, and forever drenched in the blood of revolution. It gave us a land bursting with exuberant life and activity. It gave us a country of unequaled opportunity and universal education. It enabled us to welcome to our shores the oppressed of every clime and every creed,

and to invite him without a fatherland to partake of the feast of civilization prepared for all mankind. Rising from the ruin and destruction of that day, we behold a nation fulfilling a lofty mission for the advancement of oppressed humanity. We see a country exerting her powerful influence to hasten the day when peace shall rule among the nations, as now it rules among the states. To-day we, North and South, rejoice in the grandeur of these splendid achievements. We view with lofty pride the eminence we have attained among the nations. In deep sorrow we contemplate the broken hearts, the ruined homes, and the graves on every hillside, by which our national ideal was attained. Yet we give thanks, that on July 3, 1863, was fought the battle of Gettysburg, which hurled back the surging flood of sectionalism, and brought triumph to those principles which preserved us a nation; united then, united now, and united forever.

DEMOCRACY, A NEW UNFOLDING OF HUMAN POWER

JOHN J. PARKER

Of the Greensboro (North Carolina) Bar

Awarded the Mangum Orator's Medal at the commencement exercises of the University of North Carolina, 1907.

Scientists tell us that the earth is held in its orbit and all mundane life is made possible by the balancing of two mighty conflicting forces; and that to suspend the action of either of them would be to destroy the entire system of the universe. Suspend, if possible, the world's centrifugal force, and all objects will be pulled toward the center of the earth with a force that will crush to atoms every living thing on its surface. Suspend, if you can, the world's centripetal force, and all the mighty monuments of our boasted civiliza-

tion, will, in the twinkling of an eye, be hurled thousands of miles into space. And yet, so nicely are these forces balanced, the one against the other, that the tiniest fly can crawl along yonder ceiling without being disturbed by either of them.

These two forces in the physical world have their counterparts in human life. Here, too, we have two mighty conflicting forces; and here, too, life, progress, and happiness depend upon their being properly balanced. But these forces we call, not acceleration or gravity, but institutionalism and individualism. Institutionalism alone would draw the individual into the heart of the institution, crushing out his initiative, his energy, and his ambition. Individualism alone would hurl him out of society, where his initiative, his energy, and his ambition would be absolutely worthless to himself and to the world. Civilization in any form depends upon the balancing in some way of these two mighty forces; and the great problem in human life is to give the proper place to the individual and to the institution.

Now I wish it to be understood in the beginning that I am not fighting against institutions. Organization is a necessary element in life. Two men working together can do more than the same men working apart. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name," says Christ, "there am I in the midst of them." But we should never forget that, as important as these institutions are, they are not the whole of life — that, before you can have an organization, you must have somebody to organize — that the individual man is the great central fact in human affairs, and that in promoting his welfare the institution finds its sole excuse for existence. But this fact has not been, nay, it is not yet, fully recognized by the world. The institution, throughout the world's history, has been magnified at the expense of the individual. To early man, the state, or the

religious cult, seems of such tremendous importance that its origin, or its purpose, can be explained by nothing in the category of the human. He looks upon it as the direct gift of the gods, and upon those who, by birth, or chance, happen to have it in control, as divinely appointed for its administration. Hence arises the aristocrat, the pampered child of circumstance, who gathers around himself all the pomp and splendor of the organization, while the great masses of the people, whose labor makes this splendor possible, are fated by law and custom, and beyond the saving power of effort, to lead lives of toil and of degradation. Such was the character of all the ancient states. The Levite was the hereditary lawmaker of the Jews. The Persian king was an absolute master of his people. The Perioci were but slaves of the dominant Spartans. And the boasted republics of Greece and Rome were ever ruled by the Eupatrids and the Patricians.

The humble Carpenter of Nazareth saw the inherent injustice in such a system. More than any other philosopher, He realized the grandeur and fathomed the possibilities of human nature. The Man who taught in the synagogue and yet disdained not to dine with publicans and sinners saw that even the poorest and meanest of mankind is imbued in some degree with the spirit of the eternal God, and that it is sacrilege, therefore, for any man to affect a superiority over his fellows. "I and the Father are one," said He, "and ye all are my brethren." And yet Christ did not discount the institution. To render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's was as truly a command of His, as to render unto God the things that are God's. He was the first and greatest democrat; for he appreciated, more fully than any man before or since has done, the reality of both man and the institution. He saw that institutions are necessary to give to man the full expression of his life; but he realized

that the institution exists for man, and not man for the institution.

But the world was not yet ready to apply the truth which Christ had discovered. The Man who made himself the equal of Cæsar was sent to the death upon the cross; and the principle for which He gave His life was allowed to slumber for seventeen hundred years. But the fire of truth was not to be entirely quenched by its contact with Roman absolutism. Beneath the tyranny of the Middle Ages it still smoldered; and the Reformation fanned it into a consuming flame, which the hosts of error and oppression were powerless to stop. The Anglo-Saxon race has ever been noted for taking the ideas of other peoples and giving them a practical application; and so in this case, upon our own forefathers devolved the sacred duty of applying the democratic theory of Christ. Driven out of Europe by the persecution of an intolerant church and a bigoted aristocracy, they sought a haven beyond the ocean; and here, on the shores of America, they braved the dangers of the wilderness to found a nation embodying the teachings of Christ, a nation the chief corner stone in whose structure should be the sacredness of the individual man. The God of nations smiled upon their labors and crowned their efforts with success. After years of determined trial they succeeded in founding a nation, which has grown into an institution more powerful than the Athens of Pericles or the Rome of Augustus, more splendid than the France of Louis or the England of Queen Elizabeth; and yet one which, with all its power and all its grandeur, recognizes the rights of all its citizens and gives a square deal to the meanest and humblest of them all.

This nation has been indeed a city set on a hill. For in little more than a century the humble beginning of '76 democracy has spread far and wide throughout the earth,

shedding some rays of light into its darkest and blackest corners. And great is the unfolding of human power which has been the product of the movement. Democracy has struck from the individual the shackles placed upon him by the caste system of ancient institutions. Man has been allowed to work in any field to which his nature or his disposition led him. His ambition has been aroused and his energy has been stimulated by knowing that his lot in life is not dependent upon custom or the whim of some mighty potentate, but upon his own inherent capacity and the effort which he puts forth. And this recognition of the individual has meant the most wonderful progress for the race. "Freed from the chains of ancient thought and superstition, man has achieved most wonderful victories over the hostile forces of environment. He has robbed the earth of her secrets, and has sought to solve the mysteries of the heavens. He has descended into the bowels of the earth, and has walked in safety on the bottom of the sea. He has soared above the clouds, and has made the impalpable air his resting place. He has secured and chained to his service the elemental forces of nature; making the fire his steed, the winds his ministers, the lightning his messenger. He has advanced at such an astounding pace that breathless we have reached a moment when it seems that distance has been annihilated, time made as naught, the invisible seen, the inaudible heard, the impossible accomplished." Never before has wealth been produced at so rapid a rate as in the century that has gone by. Never before have literature and the arts enjoyed so glorious an age. Never before has science achieved such notable victories. And the secret of it all is organization so managed as to give expression to the individual life; or, in other words, the principle underlying all modern progress is the principle which Jesus Christ saw and stated nineteen hundred years ago.

But not even yet have we given this principle a fair trial. As yet, we have applied it only to our political organization. If it is true, it should apply to all our organizations; and I believe that the solution of every problem in modern life consists in the application to it of the true democratic principle. I know there are those who, looking only upon the evils of American civilization, pronounce democracy a failure; but I believe that Christ was right in the principle that he laid down; and I believe that the trouble is not that we have not applied this principle, but that we have not applied it widely enough. The trouble is, not that we have too much democracy, but that we have too little democracy.

Most of the problems that confront us in the world to-day are the products of our business life; for, as men work, so they live; and, as they live, so are their ideas formed and their type of character and civilization is developed. What, then, let us ask, is the character of our business life to-day? And in what way can the principle of democracy be applied to it?

That which above all else distinguishes the industry of to-day from the industry of the past is the presence of the industrial organization. The invention of machinery, the development of the credit system, and the improvement in transportational facilities, all have combined to bring into existence great industrial combinations to which millions must look for their very life itself, but which, like the empires of old, are exploited for the enrichment of a few favored individuals. The individual man has been lost from sight in the organization. Economic freedom has become a thing of the past. Great masses of the people are bound by a system of slavery — a system no less real, because it is less apparent, than the system under which the pyramids were built for the Pharaohs.

This is the source of your trust problem and your labor problem; and this, to my mind, is the secret of the popular opposition to the trust. Say what you will about popular prejudice, I believe that Franklin was right when he said that you cannot fool all the people all the time. The continued opposition of the people to trusts shows a basis deeper than campaign oratory. The people feel in a blind sort of way this very fact that I am trying to impress upon you — that they are helpless in the hands of the powerful managers of these gigantic corporations. The real evil that afflicts business is the reign of despotism in the business world; and the source of the trust problem and the labor problem and of all industrial problems is that the capitalist attempts to maintain business on a despotic basis in the midst of a people whose ideas are permeated with the democratic principle.

Now it is worse than useless for us to fight industrial organizations as such. They are the natural products of industrial development. Through them immense economies in production are possible; and it is through them, largely, that our marvelous economic progress has come. The problem is to keep industrial organization and to eradicate the evils that have grown out of it. And the solution of the problem, and the only solution, consists in applying to it the democratic principle. When our government was cursed with despotism, we did not destroy political organization; we made it democratic. It is our industry now which is cursed with despotism; and the thing to do is, not to destroy industrial organization, but to make it democratic. And whether we like it or not, this is the way the problem is to be solved. Things cannot long remain as they are. No people can for any length of time serve both God and Mammon. And already one-fifth of the distributive industry of England is carried on by coöperative societies. Already,

in our own country, agreements between labor unions and employers' organizations are becoming matters of common occurrence. Profit-sharing schemes are increasing in number day by day. Tokens all that democracy, like the leaven hid in the measure of meal, is pervading our industrial as well as our political life!

And, my friends, let us not fear its coming. Democracy does not mean the destruction of the grand and the beautiful, but it means the bringing of the grand and the beautiful into the life of the plain, everyday citizen. Democracy in government has not meant the destruction of the palace of the Cæsars, but it has meant the opening up of the palace of the Cæsars and the making of it into a forum for the people. This has been its strength when applied to government; and this will be its strength when applied to industry. For before democratic industry the labor problem and the trust problem will dissolve as the mist before the rising sun. The entire industrial system will be infused with new life and vigor; for the laborer even will feel that he is one of the owners of the business in which he works. His ambition will be aroused, his energy will be stimulated, and he will take a personal interest in his work. This will mean increased production. It will mean increased intelligence. It will mean the development of the spirit of independence. It will mean the development of pride of character. It will mean, in short, the development of all those higher qualities which more than anything else distinguish man from the beasts that perish. The industrial genius, the leader of industry, will still have his place and will still receive his reward. That reward may be, yea, I hope that it will be, different from what it is to-day; and that, as the individual exploitation of industry becomes a thing of the past, the Rockefellers and the Harrimans, the Napoleons of finance, will give place to the George Washingtons of business — to men

who will use their genius for public advantage rather than for private gain, and who, like Robert E. Lee, will prefer to be held in honor by their countrymen than to make a fortune through their exploitation. Men in the ranks of industry, as they cease to be slaves, will develop more and more the higher qualities of their nature. Greater leisure, increased opportunities for self-development, and participation in the management of business, — all of these things will make of the laborer of the future a far different being from what he is to-day. He will no longer be surrounded by ignorance and filth and squalor. He will no longer be compelled to cheat his children of their childhood in order to supply them with daily bread. He will no longer be compelled to spend his days in slavery and his nights in a wretched attempt to recoup with drink and haunted slumber his exhausted energy for another day of hopeless toil. But as a free-born American citizen, living in his own home and master of his own business, with pride in the past and with hope for the future, as the shades of evening deepen he will gather his children around his fireside, and there, amid health and peace and contentment, he will tell them of the glorious history of their country and the priceless heritage which is theirs. And upon homes such as these a new morality, a new religion, a new civilization, will spring up. Man will more and more come to regard himself as a link in the chain of an historical evolution; and more and more will he place above his own temporary and selfish interests the interests of the society in which he lives. He will conceive of his God, not as a lordly monarch sitting alone in the midst of the universe, oblivious to the actions and fates of men, but as the beneficent spirit that guides the planets in their pathway and yet marks the sparrow's fall.

It was the sacred principle of democracy, my friends, that inspired Jesus of Nazareth, as, bending beneath the

weight of the cross, He faced the ignominious death upon Calvary. It was the principle of democracy that inspired Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms, when, standing before the assembled potentates of a misguided theology, he dared declare the sovereignty of the individual soul. It was democracy that inspired our forefathers at Valley Forge, where with bare and bleeding feet they marked the winter's snow, fighting not for relief from a paltry tax, but for the recognition of the individuals who inhabited the American Colonies. And it is the vision of democratic civilization which inspires the modern hero in our industrial and political life, who, casting aside political fortune, grapples in a life-and-death struggle with organized greed and sordid selfishness. Democracy has been the dream of the past, it is destined to be the reality of the future. Wider and wider is to be its acceptance. Deeper and deeper is its principle to be applied. Baptized in the blood of martyrs and tried in the fire of persecution, it has survived for the regeneration of the world. The principle for which Christ suffered has been lifted up; it is drawing all men unto it.

BACK TO THE PEOPLE

GUY E. DYAR

Of the Los Angeles (California) Bar

The winning oration in the Intercollegiate Oratorical Contest of Southern California, 1905, the author representing the University of Southern California.

When, by the ratification of the Constitution, the people of America entered upon their corporate existence as a state, a new era began in human affairs. The world was presented with the spectacle of a people instituting for themselves, after calm deliberation, a system of government founded upon the principles that all men are created equal, that governments

derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that the greatest happiness of the individual is the true end of all government.

The people of America, a new people on a new continent, were chosen, it seems, as by a law of Providence to give the first great impulse to that type of institutions toward which civilized mankind are moving with irresistible persistence, the institution Democracy. Ours is the age of democracy, and the American republic is its typical representative. For one hundred and fifteen years have we been engaged in testing whether a nation founded upon these principles can endure. We have been the main force in spreading throughout the world the belief, that the rule of democracy, or government by the people, is not only desirable, but possible. All mankind now look upon us as the exponent of equal rights to all, and special privileges to none; of public force made consistent with individual liberty; of equitable law and an impartial justice; of the best experience in the practical methods of self-government.

In the century of our existence our growth has followed a single law, the law of expansion into new territory. The United States has always had a frontier; has looked always to a region beyond, unoccupied, unappropriated, an outlet for its energies, a new place of settlement and achievement for its people. From the original thirteen states we spread over the mountains and down the long slopes that descend to the Mississippi. Thence across the mighty river and out upon the great plains of the Louisiana purchase, transforming the face of the new earth into waving fields of grain, peopling the vast expanse of rolling prairie with hardy tillers of the soil, studding the landscape with farmhouses, under the constructive hand of industry gathering into towns and cities, erecting churches and schoolhouses, building up the fabric of a powerful civilization, yet pushing ever onward, striding

up the sides of the towering Rockies, over the crowning heights and down upon the rich cañons and fertile shores of the Pacific, led by the best blood of the Anglo-Saxon race, with restless feet and never-tiring energy have we moved our frontier nation.

This great process has kept the wholesome blood of a vigorous, progressive, optimistic industry coursing warm within us; has perpetuated within us the spirit of initiative and practical expediency; has given us a consciousness of transcendent strength and power which impels us ever onward to mastery and achievement. It has created in us a national feeling and put sectionalism from the field; it has lifted us in one short century to a foremost place among the nations and sent the products of our labor down the avenues of commerce, threatening the world with monopoly of trade. In the wake of the pioneer we have planted our freeman's law, until to-day those institutions, first rooted on the far Atlantic coast, flourish and wax strong on the shores of the Pacific. The drama has now been played almost to the last act, the drama of institutional construction upon the vast stage of a continent. The whole European world which gave us the material has been moralized and liberalized by the striking and stupendous spectacle.

While thus engaged in the development of our physical strength, we have paid little attention to the intricate methods of government. Sure of our principles and our ideals, we have had implicit confidence in the permanency of our institutions. Assuring ourselves that the foundation of the Union was attended with the most propitious circumstances, we have assumed that we are the favorites of divine coöperation. It has not occurred to us that grave abuses have been growing up in the conduct of our civil government. Our rapid rise to wealth, our great industrial attainments, our material prosperity, have distorted, somewhat, our vision,

and given us a false self-sufficiency, a false self-confidence. When we candidly survey the conditions which exist in our country to-day, we must realize that we have not attained to that happy state expected of a people consecrated to democratic principles. Our cities are worse governed than many in Europe. Lawlessness threatens the supremacy of the courts. The political boss, a man elected by no votes, preferred by no open process, occupying no office of responsibility, makes himself a veritable tyrant among us. The party machine fastens its grip upon our primary assemblies and deprives us of the essential privileges of democracy. We are not the especial favorites of Providence: so long as we comply with the conditions of civic prosperity we may hope to prosper, but when we fail to meet those requirements we shall fall from our high estate. Americans have a right to be optimistic, but it is folly to believe there are no dark danger clouds upon the horizon of our future. We have no monopoly on happiness. We cannot sow corruption and reap incorruption. It has been truly said the United States has no patent on perpetuity.

The defects in our civil system are the result of neglect and an improper attitude of the citizen toward the government, not of the nature of our government. We have blundered in the application of our principles. We have forgotten that the vigilance of the citizen is the price of liberty. The testimony of the average man amounts to the declaration that the American republic will continue to prosper regardless of what the present generation are doing; that government is an abstract thing which will continue to exist unaided by the vigilance of the citizen; that Congress is an abstract body which will continue to maintain and enact good laws regardless of the direction of its constituents; that there is an abstract prosperity and strength of endurance that will continue to exist regardless of the con-

crete participation of the masses. The result has been that the administration of the public service has fallen into the hands of unscrupulous men who do not hesitate to abuse their trust. Vast systems of political organization have come into being which groups of professional politicians manipulate to shape the opinion of the masses. Money exercises a predominating influence in shaping legislation. Wall Street can threaten to make or unmake a President. Congressmen evade legislative action and idle through a session because it is on the eve of a national election and they must do nothing that will offend supporters of the party. When shall we learn that there is no political safety apart from the participation of every citizen in the affairs of government? The blessings of good government will not descend from heaven as manna fell in the wilderness. A people who would be well governed must govern themselves, and self-government calls for self-sacrificing consecration to public welfare. Virtue can rule whenever it may choose to do so; not, however, by protest and denunciation, but by united and intelligent action. The evil in our society is not strong in itself. The evil-doer has no more moral courage than he has moral right. He flourishes while the powers for good lie dormant. Let the robust forces of right awaken and he pauses and retreats before it. While good men sit at home, not knowing that there is anything to be done or caring to know, while persuading themselves that the government can go on without their aid, then remember, this is not a government mastered by ignorance and vice; it is a government betrayed by intelligence and virtue. It is not a victory of the lower element and the slums; it is a surrender of respectability and the schools. It is not that bad men are politically shrewd; it is that good men are political infidels and cowards.

The redress of these abuses lies with the people. The

true reform must awake the slumbering civic conscience of the masses. It is useless to rail at judges and legislators, for they will never be any better than the public sentiment which is behind them. Men must practice virtue and devotion to the state. The citizen must rise out of party and vote for the man. In a government where the popular will is the ultimate seal of authority, public opinion must be shaped by the best moral influences present in the people. The mass of the people must rise to a corporate consciousness and assert their power. The question is, shall the class or the people rule? Power has slipped from the hands of the people and has been seized by the class. Legislation is in the interest of the class. The affairs of government are administered by the class. It is a government of the class, by the class, and for the class. Shall the people govern? Then the mass of the people must assert their sovereign will. Louis of France was a tyrant; but in America the declaration, "I am the State," is the right, nay, duty, of each and every citizen. Would we be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people? Then we must be more. We must be government — the people. Our democracy sprang from the people. For the solution of its problems we must go to the people. In philosophy in the last quarter century the cry has been, "Back to Nature." In theology the cry is, "Back to Christ." In democracy the cry must be, "Back to the People."

Our democracy was born in the primitive instincts of self-preservation. The American democracy was not made when it thus came into existence. We have been over a century in the making and are not yet made. The American democracy not yet is, — but is becoming. The golden age of democracy is not behind us, but before us. Civic consciousness is in the dawning. The millions who have

come here from the ends of the earth must be taught the religion of democracy before the unifying force of the faith can make us one great self-conscious people.

The rule we have been observing in these years of our existence has been principles, not men. Henceforth, we must emphasize men, not principles. Our principles are secure and will live forever. The great fundamental principles of democracy did not spring Minerva-like from the head of cosmic Jove; they were the slow growth of centuries of political struggle. Henry Vane, the first great martyr to the paramount power of the people, prophesied Democracy. In the fullness of time these principles and ideals came forth upon the earth symbolized by the Stars and Stripes, and thenceforth human events assumed a new course, for there began upon this soil a new form of a government which is destined in the course of time to liberalize the world and everlastingly endure.

Upon us devolves the trust of maintaining our democracy upon these principles. We are the stewards of generations yet unborn. We must transmit to them a nation strong, united, virtuous. We must not let selfish ambition, party strife, blind jealousy, mar the workings of our truer impulses; but let us aim at nobler efforts and higher places of living that the legacy of our hands may be a truer ideal of democracy.

What constitutes a state? Not great riches, not great industries, not great navies, not great cities and grand capitals; but men, high-minded men, men who know their duties, rights, and powers, and knowing, dare maintain. These constitute a state.

Let us remember whose sons we are. Let us, by the shades of our ancestors, resist every object of disunion, every encroachment upon our liberties, every attempt to fetter virtue, every impulse to smother patriotism. Let

men remember what their duties are, what responsibilities are theirs. Let them consider what devotion this freeman's heritage requires of them, what patriotic consecration the fulfillment of this trust of liberty demands of them, what future happiness depends upon them, and knowing, let them turn their hearts, their minds, their talents to the service of the Fatherland. Let not the lives of men be lived without a vision of departing liberty. Then shall those who at the distance of another century walk among these hills and upon these plains, breathe the air of liberty, and stand forth and say with fervor and with pride, "Thank God, I also am an American."

THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE

HERMAN F. ALLEN

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Delivered in the Interstate Oratorical Contest held at the University of Washington, May 30, 1908.

WHEN the wise men from the East saw the star that was to guide them to Jerusalem, they beheld also the messenger that announced the birth of Him who proclaimed the law of human society. For centuries men had been seeking for something to ease the heart's desire. Governments were founded and institutions evolved; but governments crumbled and institutions faded, while humanity continued the quest for happiness. But when Jesus of Nazareth came to them who walked in darkness and preached to them the law of sacrificial love, the radiance of a new era illumined the world. Man became conscious that his deeper nature is not wolfish, but brotherly; that true morality is altruistic; that self-realization arises out of the unselfish service in which man identifies his life with the common good.

Under the inspiration of this divine idea the great souls of

all ages have moved. This is the spirit that causes patriots to die in defense of the national honor, that encourages statesmen to subordinate self-interest to public welfare, that inspires the ministers of God to carry the gospel of good tidings throughout the world. This spirit, lifting John Eliot to an eloquence seldom equaled in parliamentary history, established popular rights, and wrote into the British constitution the principle of representation. Guiding the Puritan congregations who braved the dangers of an untrodden world, this spirit organized independent commonwealths, proclaimed a Declaration of Independence, and breathed into the constitution of this republic the principles of equality before the law. Whether its mission be the maintenance of faith in an age of infidelity, or the overthrow of oppression in an era of despotism, this ideal has been justified by two thousand years of human experience, and is to-day as infallible as when the Man of Nazareth first trod the shores of Galilee.

In harmony with this divine law — supreme in a universe of laws — man's necessities, his wants and weakness, make it necessary for him to live within the bounds of a social state. To secure the unity of the race in harmonious social progress the Creator has endowed the individual with the power to reason and to love. In every well-ordered state the human affections under the direction of an intelligent will bind together conflicting elements. Through the adjustment of the individual will to the social will, through the fusion of the transient caprices of selfishness with the larger aims of the social organism, there comes the happiness for which the centuries have struggled. The answer to the age-long question comes only as man approximates perfection in the practice of social virtues. Hence character is the foundation of the state, the power that maintains the equilibrium between the individual and society. John Ruskin pointed

out that material strength and stability are the outgrowth of intellectual and moral development. The character of the state, reflecting the ideal of the masses, is the result of the progress of the self-determined individuals in whom institutions have their origin.

The characteristic conditions of the twentieth century cause men to forget this essential fact. The complex demands of an age of specialization have necessitated the concentration of energy and wealth. As the simple processes of an earlier day have given place to consolidated effort, the individual has been swallowed by the organization. Moral degeneration has been the inevitable result. Materialism threatens the republic. The spirit of selfish commercialism has superseded the spirit of altruistic service. The age has been so busy with the tangled problems resulting from the struggle for financial supremacy, that the rights of man have become a secondary consideration. Corporations have increased dividends at the expense of the happiness of mankind. Last year the railroads killed and mangled more than sixty-nine thousand citizens, because stockholders find it cheaper to employ men than to safeguard against accidents. To-day Senator Beveridge is eloquently appealing in behalf of the two million children who in factory and workshop are eking out an existence in an environment prolific of vice and crime. The American ideal that called forth the eloquence of liberty-loving Cavalier and inspired the heroic devotion of the sturdy sons of New England is threatened to-day by an oligarchy of officeholders, who barter away the rights of citizenship in exchange for the favor of plutocratic masters.

The darkest tragedy is witnessed in the decline of the American home. Independent workmen have been forced out of business by the pressure of the methods of large-scale production. Secret alliances and intrigues have placed a few men in control of the food supply of the nation.

Organized greed has instituted a gigantic system of extortion that threatens the very existence of the American home. Consequently, American workingmen, forced to seek employment in the great cities with their artificial standards, have been unable to build homes. To such a degree has this been carried that to-day but twelve per cent of the people own their homes free of encumbrances. Consequently the simple life of America has given place to the easy existence of Bohemia.

Already the national thought is feeling the effects of this unwholesome condition. The traditional virtues that underlie the American system, so long centred in the home, are threatened by the philosophy of materialistic thinkers. The demagogue on the street corner stirs the homeless crowds to mob violence. Shallow sophistries, mixed with the vicious immorality of free love, are being published broadcast among the youth of the land. And down in the bustle of the great city, amid the hum of the mart, where dwell the homeless victims of injustice, there is nourished a spirit that cries out in impotent rage against this cruel condition. The rule of greed and gold has permitted a few to coin childhood into shekels until,

> "The sob of the child in the silence
> Curses deeper
> Than the strong man in his wrath."

The question that I bring to you is: How are we to solve these perplexing problems? What remedy is offered for the elimination of the evil and the conservation of the good in modern civilization?

The most widely exploited remedy is that of socialism, which proposes the collective ownership and distribution of wealth. Socialism assumes that all forces at work in human nature are the product of economic conditions.

The essential weakness of this theory is its failure to reckon with the individual as a self-determined being. The evils prevalent in society are not all due to the material surroundings of the individual; selfishness and greed are found among all classes of men, and a reform based upon materialism will neither drive this selfishness from human nature nor prevent the growth of a vicious public sentiment. Furthermore, socialism means a centralization that, resulting either in despotism or in an unstable and revolutionary government, would destroy the individualism that lies at the basis of all progress. Give to the government the control over the instruments of production and distribution, and you would confer a power that could be enforced only through a large standing army.

Social evils are not to be cured by any of the numerous panaceas. They are rather to be realized through the evolution of character. In the slow process of nature there is nothing of the spectacular and sensational. Train men morally, educate the civic conscience, foster a pure public sentiment, and reformation becomes possible. Men of full-orbed character will refuse to accumulate fortunes at the expense of the welfare of humanity; such men will be directed by enlightened unselfishness. Seek the reformation of society through the regeneration of the individuals that compose it, and social order, superseding lawlessness and crime, will usher in the new era wherein man identifies his life with the common good.

To bring about reform we must employ the institutions whose aim is the realization of human perfection. These are the school, the church, and the home. The results of their gradual processes are permanent. Through the influence of these agencies men can be fitted for the duties of citizenship. Indeed, the very genius of our civilization demands that we make use of these factors. Did not our

Puritan forefathers make provision for the protection of their freedom by the establishment of a system of public schools? Did they not realize that the strength and security of representative government rest upon the intellectual and moral development of the citizen? So to-day, in this hour of distrust when shadows overhang the future, let us, imitating their prudence, follow the beacon light of education through the building of character by means of the school, the church, and the home.

Through the clarifying processes of education men are made to see things in their true relation. Education gives men a vision that enables them to discriminate between truth and error. Culture inculcates self-trust, and inspires men with self-confidence. Education is the antidote for the pessimism that is causing men to despair of the republic; it is the inspiration of faith that makes men glad to accept their place in the scheme of divine Providence. Education, overcoming the cowardice of little minds, will make the rising generation a nation of benefactors, who will find the supreme good in a life of devotion to duty.

Supplementing the influence of the school, the church will bring men into coöperation with the divine. Christianity propagates the spirit of unselfishness, and when love is enthroned in the heart the criminal negligence of society will no longer prevail. Through its influence civilization will be seasoned with a benevolence that will make the passing of good laws as much a religious duty as the preaching of good sermons. Dynamic religion teaches men that public offices are public trusts, that those clothed with official functions are to be actuated solely by considerations of right, justice, and the public good. Christianity, filling men with the spirit of Him who went about doing good, making the church "a union of those who love in the service of those who suffer," will give to every soldier in its militant

army an enthusiasm for humanity and a passion for righteousness.

Probably the greatest factor in the solution of social problems is the home. The inmost frame and constitution of this republic is permeated by its subtle influence. The home is the cradle of citizenship; "the kindergarten of the republic; the nursery of character." The men whose sense of justice, whose instinct for righteousness, has molded the Constitution of the republic, were taught the elemental virtues in homes where righteous precepts were reënforced by examples even more persuasive. Washington, Jefferson, Sumner, and Lincoln, the founders of the republic, the directors of its destiny, reflected in the nobility of their lives the simple dignity of the virtuous home. The unitive power that arose out of the manifold relations and associations of home life gave to them the moral courage, the spiritual prevision, that enabled them to formulate those theories of government which constitute the pride of the American people. The home still has that same influence over the lives of our citizens. The domestic customs that grow up in the household are the first evidences of that organic force which molds individuals into a compact union. These customs, bringing individuals together, form the natural and solid basis of government.

This is an age of conflict in which the outcome of the strife is determined by intellectual and moral efficiency. "Physical power has had its day, the age of reason is at hand." The great victories of the future will be won by the triumph of the individual mind over material things. And to fit men for this great conflict they must be given a moral and intellectual training in the school, the church, and the home that will enable them to build their own superstructure on the foundation of honesty and justice. When character controls the government, when moral

honesty shapes the destinies of the people, the sounds of the conflict that is being waged throughout our land will die away. Then the sun of civilization will have risen above the horizon, and will shine with a brighter luster on a grander, a nobler, and a more Christian civilization.

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE[1]

WILLIAM PIERCE GORSUCH

FORMERLY OF VIRGINIA; NOW OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

The winning oration in the Interstate Oratorical Contest held at Beloit, Wisconsin, May 5, 1898, the author representing Knox College.

WHILE a great man lives, it is difficult for an unbiased judgment to be formed of his character and ability. So long as the questions for which he fights are real, living problems, it is scarcely possible for the mind to free itself from partiality. On the one hand, love, admiration, and confidence tend to emphasize too strongly the man's virtues; and on the other, malice, prejudice, and distrust induce an underestimation. When, however, the scene is shifted; when time has intervened; when the issues have been settled; when all that is mortal of the man has lain for years in the grave; then it is we may hope to uphold the true worth of the individual, without fear of giving pain or offense to any one.

It is human nature to point with delight to men who have surmounted the obstacles of humble origin, ignorance, and poverty; who have slowly and laboriously won their way to posts of honor. But there are men who have achieved distinction without the whip of necessity, and have become great without the spur of poverty. Beyond the distant

[1] *Winning Orations*, Vol. II. Crane and Company, Topeka.

summits of the Blue Ridge Mountains, a proud colonial mansion once reared its hospitable walls. Beautiful grounds adorned the estate; fertile fields stretched away on every hand; grazing herds wandered in rich pasture; and the waters of a broad, historic river flowed dreamily in the sunlight. Such was the birthplace of one of the most remarkable actors upon the political stage of a century ago, John Randolph of Roanoke. By birth he was an aristocrat, and the ancient halls of his ancestors had echoed to the tread of noblest men. His early associations were among statesmen and men of learning. He was nurtured amid surroundings of wealth and refinement. His days might have been spent in luxurious ease, amid all the enervating delights that wealth can secure; but his mind spurned such bribes for inaction. His love of justice and the activity of his mental powers were the incentives to a life of ceaseless exertion.

Amid the diverse estimates of the man, his character and his motives, all have agreed upon one proposition in which the ring of truth is so clear and just that his friends were ever ready to give it utterance, and which even his enemies did not dare deny. It is this: His convictions were honest and his love of liberty supreme, whatever his faults may have been, and however impracticable his theories may have proved.

In palliation of some of his unfortunate peculiarities, it might well be urged that the frailty of his constitution was pitiable. His temper was violent. Although an omnivorous reader, he never followed a systematic course of study. No restraint was ever put upon him, and he was left to the freedom of his own inclinations. Thus, with an undisciplined mind, a diseased body, and a wretched temper, John Randolph grew to manhood.

The question for us to consider is not the right or wrong

of the principles to which he was devoted, but the honesty of his convictions and the effectiveness of his efforts. We may not be able, and we may not desire, to bring ourselves to accept his political teachings, but we may be, and doubtless are, willing to hear what can be said in defense of his honor and in proof of his power.

His first appearance as a public speaker was made under conditions that would have appalled a less courageous heart. At the March court of 1799, in Charlotte County, Virginia, the citizens were congregated in overwhelming numbers. Intense excitement prevailed. A mighty orator was to address the people. In the presence of the throng he ascended the rostrum, a hush fell upon the assembly, and the last speech of Patrick Henry was pronounced. The aged statesman fell back exhausted into the arms of his attendants; and a bystander exclaimed, "The sun has set in all his glory." Upon the platform appeared another figure, tall and slender, with modest bearing and effeminate look. For a moment he was silent. His eyes swam in tears. Then, with consummate skill and delicacy, he entered upon his theme, and for three hours held his audience enchained by his eloquence. Thus, at the age of twenty-six, in opposition to Patrick Henry, John Randolph of Roanoke made his first speech before the public, and so emerging from the obscurity of private life, placed himself at once among the foremost men of his time.

It was his belief that government should abstain, as much as possible, from legislation; and he expressed his sentiment on this question in his favorite maxim, "Observe a wise and masterly inactivity." This is the keynote of his career, and shows that for monuments of his political power we must go to those measures which failed to pass the House rather than to those which became laws. Upon a platform of safe conservatism, he made it his business to oppose all

measures that he deemed incompatible with national welfare. To this theory he adhered with unflinching courage, regardless of the numbers and resources of his antagonists.

When that fraudulent land speculation, called the Georgia Yazoo business, came before the House for discussion, it was argued by a formidable array of advocates. The Postmaster General was the agent who prosecuted the claim before Congress, and he was warmly supported by other leading members of the administration. Even the President countenanced it; several acts of Congress indicated its legality; the Supreme Court had rendered a decision favorable to it; and a large number of citizens had petitioned for its settlement. The task of opposing this demand was difficult. Wealth and influence were both on the other side. It seemed as if Justice were hiding her eyes from truth, and about to become allied with the powers of darkness; but, on Feb. 20, 1804, the tall, slender form of John Randolph arose in the midst of the Representatives in Congress. His fire-darting eyes surveyed the solid ranks of the opposition; his mind had seized upon the personal interest and corruption on which their claim was established; and his high, shrill voice opened the attack upon the combined forces of the speculators. He denounced their whole scheme as "a monster generated by fraud, nursed in corruption, that in grim silence awaits its prey." He fought the battle single-handed against fearful odds, and came forth victorious. No Congressman, living or dead, ever scored a greater triumph.

He was then at the zenith of his power. His determined and uncompromising warfare had rendered him an object of fear to one political party, while he was no less formidable to the other. His impeachment of Judge Chase had struck terror to the hearts of the Federalists, and his vigorous action in the Yazoo affair created consternation among the Republi-

cans. His influence over the House of Representatives was almost without limit, and he was the idol of his constituents.

During the Eighteenth Congress a memorable resolution was brought before the House. Its object was a formal expression of sympathy for the Greeks, who were then in the midst of their heroic struggle against Turkish oppression. As our own independence had been recently established, it was natural for us to feel a deep interest in the revolutions of other lands; but in addition to the vitality of the subject, it was Daniel Webster by whom the resolution was submitted. The eloquent address which he delivered was to be read throughout Europe. Says Garland, "It was to be translated into Greek and pronounced side by side with Demosthenes from the heights of the Acropolis." Immediately following this came a resolution, relative to the great revolt of Spanish-America, and expressing the warmest feeling for our South American brethren. This measure was introduced by Henry Clay, who was afterwards to receive the gratitude of the Spanish-Americans, and to have monuments erected by them to his memory. Imagine, if you can, the splendor of that occasion, — Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay speaking in unison upon a theme so glorious, so transcendent, and so fraught with human interest! Would any one dare oppose the logic and burning eloquence of these illustrious champions, emboldened as they were by the enthusiasm of their audience, and supported by the famous Monroe Doctrine, which the President's message had just announced? It is recorded that one dissenting voice was raised. It was the voice of John Randolph. At his piercing tones the sleeping intelligence of the House was aroused, the enchantment was broken, the light of reason scattered the illusions of sentiment, and both resolutions were laid aside, never to be recalled.

He was no compromiser. When he believed a proposition to be wrong, no power on earth was strong enough to

force upon him an acceptance, nor a partial acceptance. The political history of this country affords no better example of moral courage. He was nearly always in a minority, but never, in the whole course of his long career, was he bribed or browbeaten. Friends and foes alike knew him to be a man whose honor was incorruptible. He was maligned and misrepresented. His sensitive spirit they might torture, but subdue him they could not. His proud soul, conscious of integrity, bore him onward through every storm that burst upon his pathway.

Patrick Henry, the thunderbolt of the Revolution, the matchless champion of our national independence, in a private letter stated that he was the owner of slaves, but he could not and would not justify slavery; yet, in that same letter, he avows his unwillingness to give them up because of the general inconvenience of living without them. Admitting that his conduct was culpable, he lamented only his want of conformity to the precepts of virtue. Daniel Webster, descended from a Puritan, the hope of the North, the expounder of the Constitution, subordinating to personal interest his professed devotion to freedom, by his immense influence fastened upon the country the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, and defended it in his seventh of March speech. Henry Clay, Kentucky's favorite son, the orator-statesman of the South, the hero of compromise, whose lips, when speaking of the evils of slavery, gave utterance to this rising declaration: "I am no friend of slavery; the Searcher of all hearts knows that every pulsation of mine beats high and strong in the cause of civil liberty." Yet he left behind him no manumitted slave to bless the name of Henry Clay for the inestimable boon of human freedom. John Randolph, professing no love for the negro, despising the pretense of philanthropy, manumitted every one of his three hundred and eighteen slaves, provided for them lands, cabins, clothing,

utensils, and to all above the age of forty he gave not less than ten acres of land. He did not reserve even a small sum with which his executors might provide an urn for his ashes.

The public has erected no monument in his honor, not even in his native State. The only stone erected at his grave was upreared by the enthusiasm and admiration of a private citizen. Did his memory depend upon marble shafts, then, indeed, would he be forgotten. But when impartial history shall be asked to name representatives of fearless eloquence, of unswerving adherence to that which is right, of bold and persistent assaults upon that which is deemed a public danger, and of the indomitable spirits that sacrificed no portion of right by cowardly compromise with wrong, impartial history must reply, "The list would be incomplete which omitted the name of John Randolph of Roanoke."

THE MASTER PASSION OF DEMOCRACY

HOYT M. DOBBS

PASTOR OF THE HIGHLANDS METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

An oration delivered in the Intercollegiate Southern Oratorical Contest of 1904, the author representing Vanderbilt University.

PERHAPS no period of equal length has been so crowded with political events as the closing quarter of the nineteenth century. China, wrapped in the grave clothes of antiquity, has come forth from the tomb of Oriental seclusion. Germany's petty kingdoms, under the titanic hand of Bismarck, have been welded into the strength of empire. Liberalism, leaping from the brow of Gladstone, has thrown wide the castle doors of English Conservatism. The Teutonic idea of Democracy seems to represent "the tide and passion of the time." Its upheaving power has altered the history of im-

perialism and has shifted the world's political center of gravity.

During this historic period, America, yet a youth among the nations, viewed these world movements as a disinterested spectator. But with the close of the century, the nation, suddenly confronted by strange and unforeseen conditions, was thrust into the arena of international affairs. And now at a time when the ensign of this Republic is floated by the breezes of two hemispheres; when we, in the exuberance of our national youth, are intoxicated with the wine of victory, a reckless patriotism has prompted some to think that eternal vigilance is no longer necessary to "guard our errand from forgetfulness." But amid the tumultuous applause which has greeted our success, it behooves us not to be unmindful of those principles which have forced the world to recognize in this Republic the Champion of human Liberty.

All historic peoples have had a national consciousness of the fact that they were, in a sense, the Chancellors of the Almighty — that upon them depended the life or death of some world idea. It was this consciousness of his nation's calling that immortalized the ancient Hebrew. It prompted Aristotle to declare that it is the duty of the state not merely to live, but to live nobly. And it turned the face of Demosthenes away from the city of Athens while he wept over that which he called "the profound decay of public spirit" in the people of his time.

To this consciousness of her vocation America has recently awakened.

"The latest hopes of all mankind rest with her. If she fail, the knell of popular government will be sounded throughout the earth." For France looking in upon herself has discovered alarming symptoms of national decay. No one can tell what the death of Diaz might mean for Mexico.

And the so-called South American Republics have thus far failed to win the confidence of other nations.

Aroused by the sense of this responsibility, America has realized that her mission is to keep alive the world's great faith in man — but that new-born faith which we in this new century call democracy. Not the democracy of the treacherous demagogue who inflames the passions of an ignorant populace with declarations of absolute intellectual, social, or political equality, for Nature herself seems to have "a passion for inequality," and has stamped her handiwork with a graduated scale of value. But that democracy which believes in the rights of man more than in the rights of men; which believes that political equality must be an acquisition and not a gift; which believes that the only equality is an equality of opportunity; and which toils for the reign of equal rights, — this is America's mission and her master passion. America is another name for opportunity. Her whole history appears like a last effort of divine providence in behalf of the human race. Carlyle has told us that the history of the world is the biography of its great men, — an oligarchy of genius. But America believes that the history of the world ought to be the history of all men, — both great and small, — and her "Master-Passion" is a burning belief in the divine right of the individual. But the complex civilization in which we are living is creating conditions which, if not altered, will arrest the development of America's ruling idea. Some of these conditions are sufficiently alarming to speak for themselves.

Nearly one-half of our national population is crowded together within the narrow confines of our congested cities, in the midst of which lie whole islands of the world, peopled with vagrants and criminals. This heterogeneous mass of humanity knows little and cares less concerning American traditions and institutions. It is not strange that the flames

of anarchism should spread rapidly through such inflammable material. High over these thronging thoroughfares, floating banners of black unfurled from towering smoke-stacks tell of the invasion of the industrial army. The Erie Canal scandal and the gambling of municipal legislators of the Philadelphia franchise have but fulfilled the prophecies of Carlyle and Macaulay, that America would some day have to wrestle with the Pythons and Mud-Demons in the modern municipality.

Anarchy, with hands recently steeped in American blood, crouches within the shadow of Republican institutions, and laughingly records the fact that within the last ten years the world's anarchistic assassinations have increased 700 per cent.

Socialism, "with its many crude chimerical ideas, and with many aspirations for a higher," is a voice crying in the wilderness of modern society. The wall of the great Humanity that "beats its life along our stormy streets" is one of pathos, and not without its cause. It tells of human rights denied — of the tyranny of an irresponsible power. We know, indeed, that it would be impossible to turn the wheels of American industry without gigantic combinations of capital, controlled by great industrial chieftains of commerce. Many of them are noble-minded men wielding the scepters of generosity and philanthropy. And their deeds of public kindness will live long "on this bank and shoal of time," invested with a "light which is not on sea or shore." But the very necessity has created a power and placed it in the hands of men — some of whom seem to have forgotten our national vocation. The Cæsars and Napoleons are no longer found on the tented field, but in the gilded fortresses of finance. No man, however great or however good, has yet been found equal to the task of exercising absolute and irresponsible power. It is not *power*

of which democracy is afraid — but irresponsible power. The iron hand of monopoly regulates the fluctuating needle of the tradesman's compass. One week an oil king gives $5,000,000 to the cause of education, and the next week the price of kerosene leaps 15 per cent, and the lamps in American cottages flicker and burn 15 per cent lower. Twice within the last eighteen months councils have been held in the United States by which the price of beef was so regulated that the needlewomen of Nashville were compelled to pay a premium of 25 per cent upon Saturday night's pound of meat taken home to hungry children. When such robberies as these are committed along the economic highway, we cannot but fear the return of a robber period in which the butcher knife shall stand for chivalric steel, and petroleum standpipes for castles on the Rhine.

We have come to the parting of the ways. The path down which we choose to walk in the twentieth century is to determine the destiny of this Republic. The shams of our cities, the coarsening of our civic ideals, and the encroachments of irresponsible power, — all these are challenging Democracy in the valley of Decision. That decision depends upon three things : —

(1) An enlightened Public Opinion aroused to action.
(2) Fidelity to true democratic simplicity.
(3) The preservation of the great conservative middle class.

Public Opinion, Simplicity, and the Middle Class, — these are the three pillars upon which the Republic rests. That decision cannot be made in the capitol at Washington, but must be made in every city, town, and hamlet in this broad commonwealth.

Public opinion must be aroused and enlightened by the pulpit, the press, the platform, and the public school. Intelligence and unselfishness are the high priests of democracy.

The Christian ministry of America must swing wide the doors of 194,000 churches, and call a restless humanity to come in and rest and pray. Journalism, with its 21,450 newspapers, must summon to the ballot box of civic righteousness 21,000,000 voters, 7,000,000 of whom did not even go to the polls in 1900. Four hundred and thirty-nine thousand teachers and 16,000,000 students must lay aside the cap and gown and convince 80,000,000 people that education claims no exception from the hardships of honest toil. Pulpit, press, and platform must all unite in proclaiming the death of a bigoted and narrow-minded provincialism: for not only the United States, but the world itself has never been so small — men's elbows never so close together. Kindred interests have begotten kindred relationships — the brotherhood of man is almost a necessity. The blow of a gavel in Washington shakes the cities of London and Paris. The cry of an Indian babe clutched by the skeleton fingers of Famine is heard with distinctness from the banks of the Ganges to the waving broad valleys of the Mississippi. And the prayer of a dying President hushes the thunder of the world's commerce.

Next to the power of public opinion is fidelity to the ideals of true democratic simplicity. During the past few years we have heard much of imperialism and imperial democracy. But the imperialism which is threatening this Republic is the imperialism of ostentation and display. "True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions." Simplicity is the very heart of democracy, and the American citizen needs no badge of distinction. The barter of landed estates, in exchange for the titles of a feudal nobility, can have no place in the temple of democracy. A million dollars made and lost in a day cannot be explained to him who had no meat for dinner. The privileges of American citizenship must end where the rights of human-

ity begin. "Our ancestors were men of iron countenances hammered out on the anvils of adversity." The heroic simplicity of their deeds, perpetuated in marble, song, and story, are to us a heritage far too noble for us to forget our calling. In the year 1845 Commodore Jesse Duncan Elliott brought from Palestine, on the battleship *Constitution*, a marble sarcophagus supposed to have once contained the remains of a Roman emperor. The national Institute at Washington tendered this as a final resting place to him whose equestrian statue surmounts the Capitol hill of Tennessee. Though he was then face to face with death, the Hero of the Hermitage prolonged the struggle long enough to pen these immortal lines: — "My Republican feelings forbid it. The simplicity of our system of government forbids it. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid to rest in a repository prepared for an emperor or king!" Would that another might voice that voiceless appeal for fidelity to the heroic simplicity of America's democratic ideals.

In the midst of all our doubts and perplexities stand the great conservative middle class, who, neither drunk with wealth nor embittered with poverty, are pleading for a closer sympathy between the classes and the masses. They have been and must ever be the true glory of every great nation. "Ill fares that land to hastening ills a prey," where they have ceased to be the majority. They believe in the fireside, in the "Democracy of the home, and the Republicanism of the family." On that memorable night in the House of Commons when Mr. Gladstone rose to make his final appeal in behalf of England's hunger-bitten millions, his voice, clear as silver trumpet, rang these words in the ears of an angered opposition, "If you want a bulwark against despotism, there is no rampart like the breasts of free men." And so the bulwark of America's greatness rests,

not in her standing army, with its rolling drum beat and fluttering ensign — not in that magnificent navy, floating mountains of machinery and volcanoes of destruction, but in the ramparts of her middle class millions, whose homes are the "temples of freedom, and whose hearthstones are the blazing altars of liberty."

They realize that the true glory of a great people is the glory that comes from service. There was a time when the world's supreme test of service was death, but the Republic measures service by the standard of life. She is calling, calling for volunteers, not to die, but to live. Millions have ever been found ready to die for their country, but how few have been found who have dared to live at the ballot box and in the market place as heroically as the patriot died! The world loves life — needs more lives than deaths — more deeds than books and theories. The practical poetry of Andrew Carnegie will be remembered far longer than Edwin Markham's "Man with the Hoe." The world needs poets, actors, and artists. But it needs more poetry in the lives of men, more actors upon the stage of reality, and more pictures hung upon the walls of human hearts. No one can foresee into what paths China's lately unbound feet may lead her. England and Germany may succeed in maintaining their imperial power. But America's mission is to defend the great democratic faith — to perpetuate the divine right of the individual — to open the doors of opportunity. She must fight the battles of her hungry and her poor, and convince all the toiling masses that that democracy is their truest friend, lest some Luther of labor rise and shake the world with the blows of his protesting hammer.

If she shall fulfill this mission of service, the God of battles and of destiny, "high as hope's great throbbing star," shall call her from the "tongueless silence of the dreamless dust" to national immortality.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE: MURDERER OR PATRIOT?

JOSEPH BURTON DIBRELL, JR.

OF THE COLEMAN (TEXAS) BAR

The winning oration in the contest for the Du Bois Prize in Oratory, held at the University of Texas, May 1, 1902.

THE other day I read that famed peroration of Ingersoll's, summing up the career of the world's greatest general, in which he said: "A little while ago I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon. I gazed upon the sarcophagus where rest at last the ashes of that restless man, and I thought of all the widows and orphans he had made; of all the tears that had been shed for his glory; of the only woman who had ever loved him, torn from his heart by the ruthless hand of ambition. And I said, I would rather have been a poor French peasant, and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, than to have been that imperial impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great."

This eloquent indictment by the great infidel orator but reflects the popular estimate of Napoleon's life and career. From childhood we have been taught that the bloodiest ogre of all time, the most heartless brute that ever rushed into fame, was Napoleon, the Emperor of France. An altogether too common verdict of modern history is that Napoleon was a conscienceless brute. But by whom is this verdict rendered? Not by Napoleon's supporters, but by his enemies; not by those who counseled with him at the Tuileries for the welfare of France; not by those who communed with his innermost heart at Malmaison; not by those who bivouacked in simple fellowship with him at Marengo, at Austerlitz, at Eylau, and at Wagram, who swept with him and the eagles

over the threatening Alps and through the laughing valleys of Italy, and trod with him the blood-stained snows of Russia; not by those who, like him, were thrilled by the inspiration of new principles, laden with promise of a quicker progress, a wider liberty, a grander age than the world had yet seen: but by those who hated him as the powerful enemy of aristocratic privileges; by those whose own reputations must be infamous in proportion as his is good; by those who envied his genius; by those who betrayed him, and with him France, in the last critical hour; by those who banished him to St. Helena for crimes that they themselves had committed, — yea, by inhuman Pitt, by bigoted Wellington, by contemptible Lowe, by wily Metternich, by treacherous Talleyrand, by villainous Fouché.

Now, if you were to relate the career of Washington, you would take it from the testimony of the loyal American, not from the British Tory. If you wished to determine the motives of Cromwell, you would find them written in the hearts of English Puritans, not in the annals of Royalists. "If I stood here to-night to tell the story of Napoleon," exclaimed Wendell Phillips, "I would take it from the lips of Frenchmen, who find no language rich enough to paint the great captain of the nineteenth century." But in dealing with his story to-night, we must take it from the lips of Englishmen, Germans, and Russians, who despised this powerful enemy of monarchies and aristocracies, — this low-born emperor of the people, — and who hated him because he had beaten them in many a battle.

Europe says that Napoleon was ambitious. What of it? Is ambition so gross a sin? That depends upon the character of the ambition. There is an ambition destructive and despicable. There is an ambition constructive and commendable. And which type of ambition does Napoleon represent? Let the incontrovertible facts of history answer.

Napoleon found France in the hands of a legislature, impotent, corrupt, catering to the constantly changing clamors of the mob—a mob swept by every passion that debases or exalts the hearts of men, given unto license, cursed with poverty, racked with disease, maddened by hunger and distress, enraged at the sight of patrician luxury. This legislature had been made an engine of murder; the party of the Mountain had wielded it to decree the execution of the king; the Mountain had wielded it to set up that mock tribunal of justice which guillotined the queen, the leaders of the Girond, and the sainted Madame Roland; then the Mountain legislature had turned on its own leaders and executed Danton; then the mob had wielded the legislature to execute Robespierre; now the legislature sat each day, its members, like chattering idiots, discussing wild theories of democracy and religion, prating of the constitution, while the mob shed blood freely in the streets of Paris, and the peasantry wandered on in madness and despair and insecurity of life and liberty, while the drum-tap of Austrian armies in Italy threatened—not France's power, for she had none; not her glory, for it had gone; not her greatness, for it was swallowed up in ruin—but the very existence of the French nation.

At this juncture Napoleon was summoned before the legislature and asked, "Young man, can you protect the assembly?" The firm lips of the boy lieutenant parted only to say, "I always do what I undertake." "And the next day from the steps of St. Roche thundered forth the cannon that taught the mob of Paris for the first time that it had a master." Turning to this worse than worthless legislature, Napoleon in his imperial wisdom swept it away and said, "If you will, my countrymen, I will revive and reinvigorate France." To this mighty task the people with one accord commissioned him. Again was Napoleon's

deed as good as his word. For anarchy, he substituted law and order; for faction, union; for domestic poverty, domestic plenty; for a ruined commerce, commercial prosperity. For the Saturnalia of the goddess of Reason, he substituted the religion of Christ. He found education and opportunity restricted to a class; he proclaimed and enforced "a career open to talent without distinction of birth." He directed the energies of France to the construction of public works, to art, architecture, literature, science, and commerce. Whereas France had weighed nothing in the scale of European politics, Napoleon's single will now outweighed all the diplomacy and intrigues of a continent. He raised France from ignominious defeat to resplendent victory; the mighty energies of her disgruntled and bloodthirsty factions he concentered in a common national devotion to practical democracy; and animating the legions of France with a sane spirit of liberalism, and firing their responsive hearts with the enthusiasm of his own genius, he hurled them like thunderbolts against the effete despotisms of Europe, until the people of every land drank deep the inspiration of a new progress and the promise of a grander civilization than the world had yet seen. No wonder that the eloquent English divine, Robert Hall, exclaimed, "When I heard the result of Waterloo, I felt that the clock of the world had turned back six ages!"

Granting that Napoleon was laudably ambitious, it is still charged that he endeavored to attain his ends by wholesale murder and even fouler means. Europe would lay at his door the responsibility for all the bloodshed, for all the desolated homes, for all the tears, grief, and distress that were required before the monarchies of Europe could suppress the spirit of progressive liberty, when the light of its mighty genius was dimmed at Waterloo, and went out at St. Helena. The fact is, Napoleon did not provoke

war, except in that he was the powerful and uncompromising champion of liberal democracy,—of principles inimical to the privileged aristocracy of Europe. He fought in self-defense, fought for the existence of France, fought for the rights of the common people against the selfish classes. "I would have peace," he said after his accession to power, "and be left free to inaugurate my plans for the internal development of France and the establishment of her greatness upon the seas." Peace! England and the continent were afraid to let him have peace. Colonel Napier, an English historian and aid-de-camp in the army of the Peninsula, who almost apotheosizes Wellington, says, "Napoleon was warred against, not, as pretended, because he was a tyrant and a usurper, for he was neither; not because his invasion of Spain was unjust; but because he was the powerful and successful enemy of aristocratic privilege." No! the charge of wanton bloodshed cannot lie at Napoleon's door. But it was shed—by whom? By the hostile cabinets of Europe. You are the murderer, William Pitt; you are the desolator of homes, Metternich; you are the bloody ogre of ambition, Czar Alexander; you are the murderers of millions, and not that alone—you persecuted and executed an innocent man for your own crimes; and now you seek to shift the blame for all this butchery upon that unfortunate hero of the French Revolution.

What manner of man, then, was Napoleon? He was not a usurper, for, as Fontanes said, "He dethroned nothing but anarchy." He was not a tyrant, for the people considered him their own creation, and loved him as monarch was never loved before. He was not a destructive genius, but led the van of progress; his public works, wondrous for their number, utility, and grandeur, are imperishable monuments to his constructive genius. He was not a heartless brute, as the enemy have pictured him. See him kneeling by the bed-

side of the dying Duroc, weeping bitterly for the loss of his great marshal and most intimate friend. See him melt under the pleading of a little girl for the life of her father, a conspirator against his life, and set the prisoner free. Behold him at Moscow, sending a detachment of his legionaries to protect the foundling hospital from the incendiarism of their own countrymen. Nor will comparisons help us in forming an estimate of this incarnate democrat, for, as has been said, "he stands without a model and without a peer." We might compare him to Washington; but he was a more consummate genius than the great American, and had not the sea to save him from the wrath of his foes. We might compare him to Cromwell; but the great Puritan fought only a portion of his own people, while the Emperor of the French contended against the allied forces of all Europe. We might compare him to Augustus Cæsar; but the great Roman was not half so great a warrior. We might compare him to Alexander the Great; but the Macedonian was a sensual despot, while Napoleon was as remarkable in his age for his freedom from tyranny and vice as for his military genius. In all history we shall not find his equal in universality of genius, magnificence of execution, grandeur of ideals, hopelessness of fate. He was indispensable to the greatest crisis in history; he was the instrument of God for transforming a purposeless revolution into a mighty movement for human liberty that has not yet spent its force; he was the unfortunate victim of circumstances, painfully, faithfully, and wonderfully performing his part to the bitter end; he was a Child of Destiny, indeed; and while we may not say with Lamartine, his bitter enemy, that "He was the greatest of the creations of God," we can say, as the future historian, when truth gets a hearing, will say: He was the grandest patriot ever sacrificed on the altar of liberty.

APPENDIX B

SUBJECTS FOR ORATIONS

The following list of subjects is intended to be suggestive only. In most cases the subjects are stated generally; the restatement to indicate a single phase and a more limited, definite theme is left to the individual student.

1. Democracy and Education.
2. Higher Education and the State University.
3. The College Man's Mission.
4. Weak Places in Modern Educational Methods.
5. The University Idea.
6. The Scholar in a Republic.
7. College Politics and Preparation for Citizenship.
8. The American *vs.* the English College Student Type.
9. Is a Rhodes Scholarship Desirable for an American College Graduate?
10. Mental Indigestion.
11. The Honor System in Schools and Colleges.
12. The Growth of the Sense of Nationality in the American People.
13. America as a World Power.
14. American Diplomacy and the Situation in China.
15. Our Future Relations with the South American Republics.
16. The Coming Conflict of the Slav and the Anglo-Saxon.
17. The Coming Conflict of Russia [China, America] and Japan.

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19. The Fool-killer.
20. Ancient Landmarks and Twentieth Century Statesmanship.
21. Militarism.
22. American Institutions: 1779 and 1909.
23. The Statesmanship of the Founders of Texas.
24. The Defense of the Alamo.
25. The Influence of Pericles [or of Bismarck, Gladstone, Lincoln, Lee, Grady, Curtis, etc.].
26. The Statesmanship of Edmund Burke [or ——] as a Guide for To-day.
27. England's Foreign Policy: Gladstone and Chamberlain.
28. Expansion in its Relation to the Commerce of the South.
29. Modern Phases of the States Rights Doctrine.
30. The Restriction of Suffrage in the Southern States.
31. The Fifteenth Amendment.
32. The American *vs.* the English Constitution.
33. Booker T. Washington's Solution of the Race Problem.
34. Criminal Procedure and Lynch Law.
35. The Tyranny of the Mob.
36. Paternalism.
37. The Initiative of the President.
38. The Power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.
39. The Function of the Agitator.
40. What Social Classes owe to Each Other.
41. Charity, Wise and Otherwise.
42. The Right to Work.
43. The Tramp.
44. Coxey's Army.

45. The Rights of Wealth.
46. Commercialism.
47. Graft.
48. The Third House.
49. The Gospel of Helpfulness.
50. The Law of Service.
51. Has Industrial Society attained its Ultimate Form?
52. The Judicial Injunction and the Bill of Rights.
53. The Awakening of China.
54. War and Commerce.
55. Conquest and Christianity.
56. Materialism *vs.* Spirituality.
57. America and the Orient.
58. The Constitution and the Flag.
59. Briton and Boer.
60. The Puritan and the Cavalier.
61. The New Aristocracy.
62. The New Woman.
63. The Twentieth Century Man.
64. American Heroes and Hero Worship.
65. —— as a Type of American Citizenship.
66. "Chinese Gordon," the Christian Soldier.
67. New National Ideals.
68. Grady's "New South": Twenty Years After.
69. The Passing of the Individual.
70. The Passing of the Old-time Southern Negro.
71. Peonage.
72. Poverty and Crime.
73. The Little Red Schoolhouse.
74. Legislative Control of Cities.
75. Public Opinion.
76. Private Virtue and Civic Virtue.
77. "A Message to Garcia."
78. The Common People.

79. The Heroes of Obscurity.
80. The Spoils System.
81. The Clergyman in Politics.
82. Twentieth Century Christianity.
83. Religion *vs.* Theology.
84. Religion *vs.* Science.
85. The Civilizing Influence of the Engineer.
86. The Passing of the Old-time Lawyer.
87. The Hour and the Man.
88. The Strenuous Life.
89. The Simple Life.
90. A Plea for the Kicker.
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105. The Independence of the Philippines.
106. The Tyranny of Labor Unions.
107. The San Francisco "Graft" Prosecution.
108. Judge Landis and the Standard Oil Company.
109. Horace Greeley: a Representative of the "Fourth Estate."

110. The Elimination of Private Profits the Best Solution of the Liquor Problem.

111. The Significance of the Present-day Prohibition Movement.

112. The Meaning of the Roosevelt Movement in National Politics.

113. The Socialist and the "Stand Patter."

114. The Reorganization of the Democratic Party.

115. Grover Cleveland and William J. Bryan.

INDEX

Adams, J. Q., quoted, 2.
Ade, George, quoted, 118, 122.
After-dinner Speech, The, 44.
Allen, Herman F., oration by, 274.
Allen, John, selection from, 199.
Analogy and antithesis, 128.
Apostrophe, 137.
Appeal, adaptation to audience, 110; to highest motives possible, 111; indirect appeal the most effective, 113.
Aristotle, quoted, 2, 15, 75.
Arnold, Matthew, quoted, 96.

Balfour, quoted, 190.
Beach, William A., selection from, 79.
Beecher, Henry Ward, quoted, 170, 172, 175, 212; selections from, 58, 94, 115.
Beveridge, Albert J., quoted, 98; selections from, 80, 135.
Black, Jeremiah S., selection from, 25.
Blaine, selections from, 89, 192.
Blair, Dr., quoted, 2, 203.
Brastow, quoted, 33.
Brooks, Phillips, quoted, 33, 124, 169, 184, 210.
Brougham, selection from, 120.
Bryan, William J., selection from, 88.
Burke, selections from, 59, 120, 146.
Burlingame, Anson, selection from, 122.

Cadence, 149.
Character, requisite for the orator, 167.
Choate, Rufus, quoted, 125; selections from, 144, 165.
Cicero, 11; quoted, 2, 4, 183; selection from, 146.
Clay, Henry, quoted, 187.
Clearness, 98.
Climax, 141, 145.
Commemorative Address, The, 42.
Composition, rules in, 209.
Conclusion, The, 74; leading characteristics of, 82.
Concreteness, 114.
Conviction, qualities for, in oral discourse, 98.
Correctness and elegance, in the introduction, 71.
Curtis, George William, quoted, 5, 155; selections from, 42, 46, 61, 64, 68, 89, 129, 138, 157, 201.

Deliberative oratory, 17.
Demonstrative oratory, 35.
Demosthenes, 10, 169.
Dibrell, Joseph Burton, Jr., oration by, 295.
Dillon, John F., selection from, 85.
Direct discourse, 132; methods of attaining, 133.
Direct quotation, 140.
Discussion, The, as a division of the oration, 74.
Disraeli, quoted, 127.
Divisions of the oration, The, 55.
Dobbs, Hoyt M., oration by, 287.
Dyar, Guy E., oration by, 267.

Emerson, quoted, 4, 97, 171.
Emotional responsiveness, 17.
Emphasis, 105.
Energy, variety, and movement, 153.
Erskine, quoted, 123.
Eulogy, The, 37.
Euphony and cadence, 147.
Everett, selections from, 133, 163.

Figurative language, in oratory, 120.
Finch, Francis M., selection from, 66.

Findlay, John V. L., selection from, 92.
Forensic oratory, 21.
Fox, quoted, 127, 176.
Franklin, Benjamin, quoted, 107.

Garfield, James A., selection from, 69; James R., selection from, 102.
General preparation, for the orator, 167.
Godwin, Parke, quoted, 172.
Gorsuch, William Pierce, oration by, 281.
Grady, Henry W., selections from, 70, 81, 91, 150.

Haig, Myron J., oration by, 252.
Hoar, George F., selection from, 138.
Hughes, Governor, selection from, 144.

Ingersoll, selections from, 142, 151.
Interest and freshness, in a subject, 193.
Introduction, The, 57; leading characteristics of, 70.
Iteration, 158.

Jenkins, Lucy Dean, oration by, 245.

Knowledge of things, requisite for the orator, 173; of men, 174.

Lincoln, quoted, 168.

Macaulay, quoted, 5.
McGaffin, Rev. Alexander, selections from, 136, 140.
Mays, James Henry, oration by, 232.
Moderation, in the Introduction, 72.
Modesty, in the Introduction, 71.
Moody, Dwight L., selection from, 134.
Movement, 156.

Naturalness and ease, in the Introduction, 70.

Oration, defined, 5; writing an, 190; gathering material for, 202; composition of, 209.
Orations, Specimen College, 219; subjects for, 301.
Orator, The making of an, 167.
Oratorical question, The, 133.
Oratory, defined, 5; rhetoric and oratory, 1; oratory and oral discourse, 2; test of oratory, 5; historical sketch of, 9; of Greece, 9; of Rome, 11; of the early Church, 12; of the Middle Ages, 12; of the French Revolution, 12; English parliamentary oratory, 12; American oratory, 13; kinds of oratory, 15.
Outline for an oration, 206.

Parker, John J., oration by, 258.
Periodic sentence, use of, in oratory, 143.
Persuasion, 3, 106; elements of, 108; distinctive qualities of style in, 114.
Phillips, Wendell, selections from, 59, 76, 128, 131, 141, 154, 166.
Platform Oration, The, 52.
Political Speech, The, 48.
Porter, Horace, selection from, 90.
Proportion, in the Introduction, 73.
Pulpit oratory, 28.

Quick, Herbert, quoted, 51.
Quintilian, quoted, 62, 111, 145, 214.

Ramsey, William G., selection from, 165.
Reading, for the orator, 176.
Reed, Thomas B., quoted, 20.
Rhetoric and oratory, 1.
Robinson, *Lectures on Preaching*, quoted, 31.
Robinson, Edgar E., oration by, 224.
Roosevelt, selection from, 84.

Schurz, Carl, quoted, 49.
Sears, quoted, 152.
Second person, use of, in oratory, 136.
Sequence, 100.
Seriousness and dignity, as qualities of the oratorical style, 151.
Sermons, faults of, 30.

Speaking, practice in, 186.
Speech material, gathering of, 181.
Speer, Judge Emory, selection from, 86.
Stevenson, Robert Louis, selection from, 164.
Storrs, Dr. Richard S., selection from, 77.
Style in oral discourse, 93; style generally, 93; oratorical *vs.* essay style, 97; distinctive qualities of the oratorical style, 114.
Subject, choosing a, 190; of personal import, 191; interest and freshness, 193; adapted to audience, 195; to speaker, 196; to oratory, 197; single and definite, 198.
Subjects for orations, 301.
Summary and transition, 160.
Suspense and climax, 141.

Taylor, William W., oration by, 219.
Tilton, selection from, 163.

Unity, 101.

Variety, 155.
Vocabulary, acquiring a, 178; list of words for practice in vocabulary building, 188.

Watterson, Henry, selection from, 65.
Webster, quoted, 4, 5, 19, 126, 177; selections from, 63, 86, 87, 121, 143, 159, 163.
Whittier, selection from, 149.
Wishard, Glenn Porter, oration by, 238.
Writing, practice in, 183; of an oration, 190.

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